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The Great Educators

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HORACE MANN

AND

**THE COMMON SCHOOL REVIVAL IN
THE UNITED STATES**

BY

B. A. HINSDALE, PH.D., LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF THE SCIENCE AND THE ART OF TEACHING IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

"Let the next generation. then, be my client"

HORACE MANN

NEW YORK

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

1913

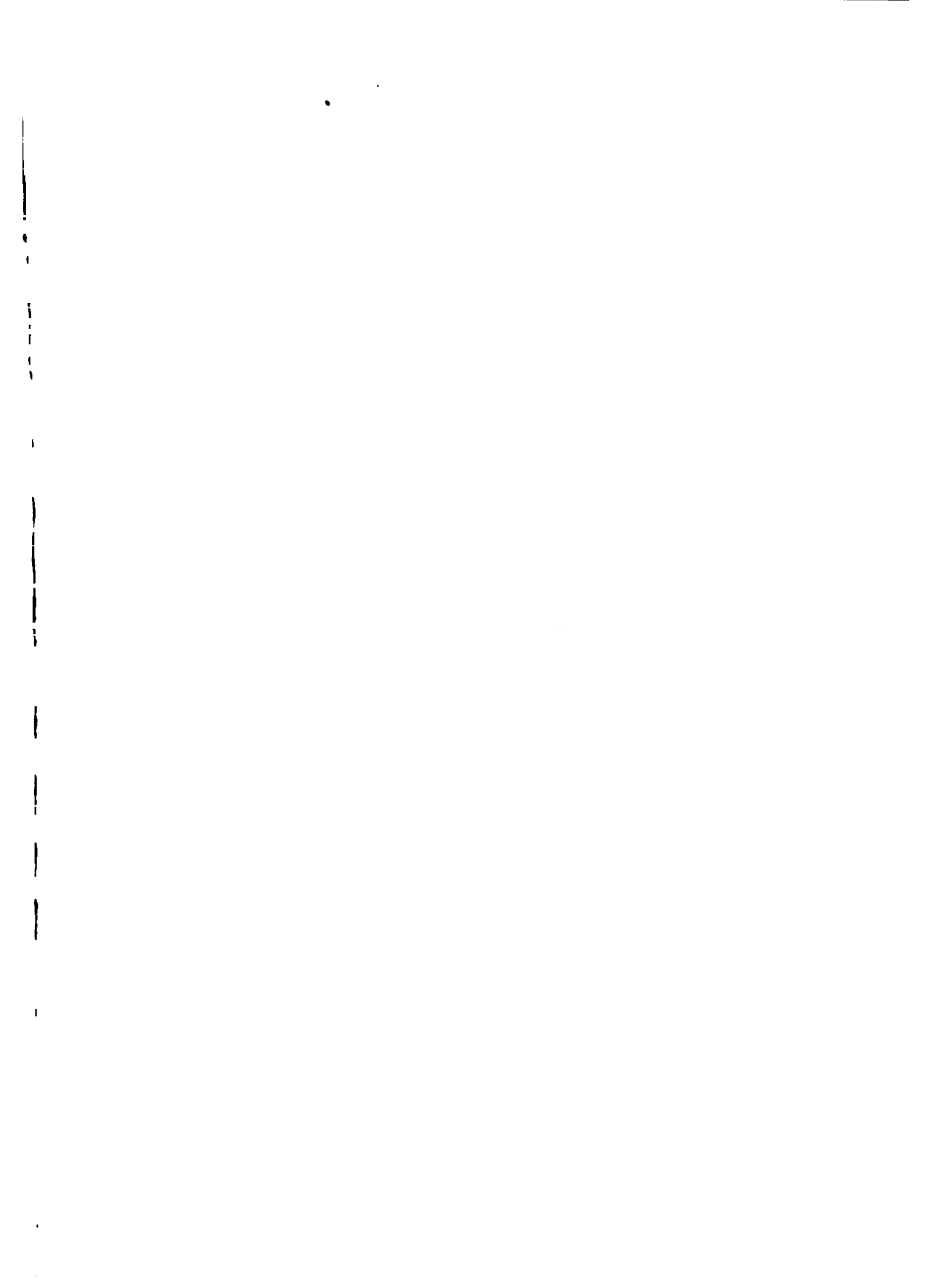
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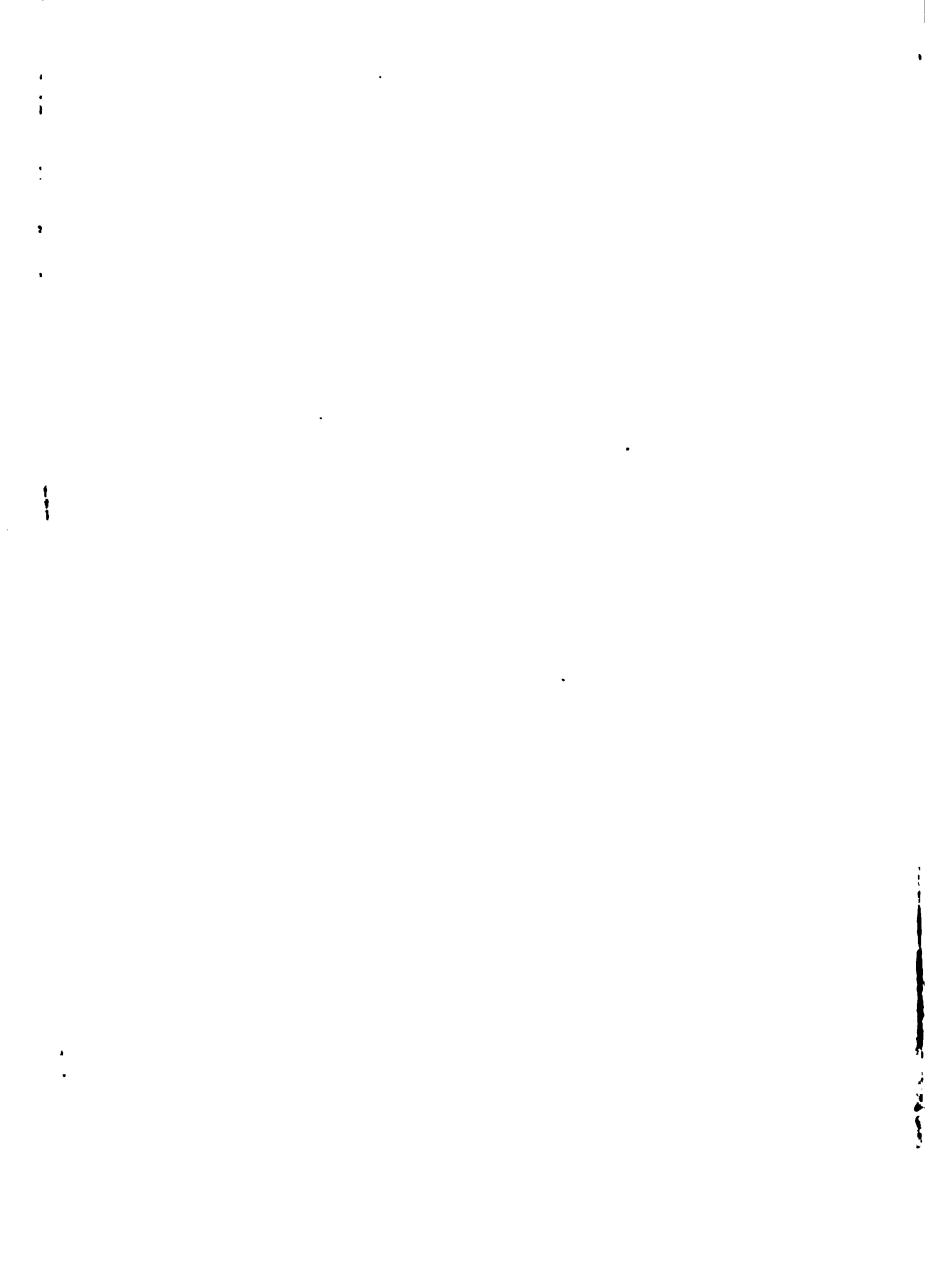
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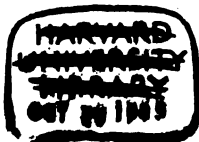
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PREFACE TO REVISED EDITION

THIS book aims to realize, in respect to its subject, the ideal of the series of volumes to which it belongs. From an important point of view, the history of great educators is a history of education itself. Books dealing with such men, when written on this plan, are not only biographies, but comprehensive, although concise, accounts of the great educational movements with which the men are identified. In other words, the single purpose of this book is to set before the reader Horace Mann as an educator, in his historical position and relations. Everything is made to bend to this central idea. The work is therefore double — Horace Mann and his Historical Environment. It seeks primarily to tell the story of Mann's life and labors simply and clearly, but in a manner to utilize some part, at least, of the great motive power with which his life is charged. The material for the life, or story proper, has been drawn mainly, but not exclusively, from the *Life and Works of Horace Mann* five volumes, Boston, 1891. Mrs. Mann's *Life*, which is Vol. I. of the *Life and Works*, abounds in extracts from his letters and diaries, and also contains many letters and extracts from letters written to him. It is to a great extent a book of original materials, and its value is largely due to this fact. In some parts of the present

work, and particularly in Chapter III., Mr. Mann's own language is often used with little change beyond what is necessary to transfer the narrative from the first person to the third person. This has seemed better than to load the pages with formal quotations. Mrs. Mann's work is commonly referred to simply as *The Life*. Some facts have been furnished by Mr. George C. Mann, of Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, son of Horace Mann. For this courtesy, and other valuable assistance that he has cheerfully rendered, the author extends to Mr. Mann his grateful acknowledgments. Much care has been bestowed upon the historical setting of the story proper; the sources of information here drawn upon other than *The Life* are formally indicated in foot-notes.

B. A. HINSDALE.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,
May 20, 1899.

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HORACE MANN

CHAPTER I

TWO CENTURIES OF COMMON SCHOOLS

ANY adequate account of Horace Mann, and of the Common School Revival in the United States with which his name is connected, must be introduced by a general view of the progress of elementary education in the country for the first two centuries of its history. Accordingly, the first and second chapters of this work will be devoted to that object. Principal attention will be given to New England. Moreover, Massachusetts will hold the pre-eminence, because it was on her soil that the American system of common schools originated, and because she was both the home of Horace Mann and the first beneficiary of the great work that he accomplished.

I. MASSACHUSETTS

The Puritan character had been well annealed in the hot furnace that glowed in England following the Reformation, and it is nowhere seen to better advantage than in the New England colonies. "God sifted a whole nation," the familiar quotation runs, "that he might send choice grain out into this

wilderness." The New England Puritans were as learned as they were pious, and as thoroughly devoted to education as they were to religion. Men of learning so abounded among them that, at one time, they counted one Cambridge graduate for every two hundred and fifty persons, and not a few Oxford men besides. In repute the teacher stood next to the minister. The leaders were thoroughly acquainted with the results, both of the Renaissance and of the Reformation; they regarded them as inseparable; and so as soon as possible, after they made their first beginning, they took steps to plant the school and the church side by side in their new home.

(In 1635 Boston established her celebrated Latin School. In 1639 Dorchester levied a tax on land to support a free school in that town, the first clear example of public taxation for such a purpose in the history of the country. Other towns followed the example that Boston had set,) and by 1647 as many as seven similar schools existed on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. In 1636, 1637 the General Court founded Harvard College, the oldest American seat of higher learning. The first colonial action relating to general education was had in 1641, when the General Court desired "that the elders would make a catechism for the instruction of youth in the grounds of religion." This expression of desire was soon followed by something more decisive. The grammar schools and the college together would fill the two upper divisions of the tripartite scheme of education; but the educational system could not be considered satisfactory

until proper elementary schools were founded, and the grammar schools put upon a firmer foundation than mere local consent or agreement. So, on June 14, 1642, the General Court enacted compulsory education. Since many parents and masters neglected the training of their children in learning and employment profitable to the Commonwealth, the Court ordered that the selectmen in every town should thenceforth stand charged with the care of redressing the evil; and to this end they should be clothed with power to take account, from time to time, of all parents and masters, and of their children in respect to calling and employment, and especially in respect to their ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country. Fines should be imposed upon all who neglected the training of their children, or refused to render an account to the selectmen when called upon to do so.¹

While the Act of 1642 made education compulsory, it did not provide schools or teachers; the people were still left to domestic instruction, to private teachers, and to such voluntary schools as they should organize among themselves. The situation was illogical as well as inconvenient; so at least the statesmen of the Plantation seem to have thought, for, on November 11, 1647, the General Court enacted a general school law, the first one, be it observed, met with in American history. In modernized spelling this law runs as follows:

¹ A collection of the early Massachusetts statutes relating to education will be found in *The Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1892, 1893*, Vol. II., pp. 1225-1239.

"It being one chief object of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers, that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the Church and Commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors, —

— ("It is therefore ordered, That every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint: *Provided*, Those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns. and

— ("It is further ordered, That where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university: *Provided*, That if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay five pounds to the next school until they shall perform this order."

In 1647 Massachusetts consisted of some thirty

towns, inhabited by about twenty thousand people. The law of that date rounded out the outline of the system of public instruction as it exists to-day. Evolution and not revolution has characterized the system from the beginning. Let us see what this outline really contained.

The Act recognizes the three customary grades of education,—elementary, secondary and higher,—and all are made subject to the State's control. It lays stress upon the relation of education to the State; what is profitable to the Commonwealth is set up as the criterion to govern the action of the General Court. Again, while the responsibility of educating children is placed primarily upon parents and masters, the State may see to it that parents and masters perform their duty. Money may be raised by general taxation to defray the cost of public education; whether it shall be done or not, it is left with the towns themselves to determine. (School provision is made compulsory, but not school attendance; the "shall" of the Act of 1647 is directed to towns not parents, and so is the fine that is to be imposed for non-compliance with legal duty. Citizens may provide tuition for their children at home, or in private schools as before. The schools are not formally free therefore, since they are to be supported either by those who use the schools or by the inhabitants of the town in general by way of supply, or by both of these. Important history turned on this word "or," as we shall see hereafter.

In the first elementary schools of Massachusetts only writing and reading were required to be taught.

The names that the secondary schools bore, Latin schools and grammar schools, suggest the staple of the teaching that they furnished. The curriculum of Harvard College consisted mainly of the Greek, Roman, and Oriental languages and divinity. Two reasons may be suggested for the stress that the Puritans placed on languages and language teaching. In its inception the Renaissance was a distinctly classical movement; while Comenius, the founder of the Realistic School of Pedagogy, was the contemporary of the founders of New England.¹ It preceded and, to a great extent, caused the Reformation. Then Protestantism rests upon the authority of a book, a fact that has given primary education a great importance in all thoroughly Protestant countries. Now, to borrow Burke's famous phrase, Puritanism was the dissidence of dissent, the Protestantism of the Protestant religion; so that for a Puritan to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints was to contend earnestly for the Bible. The preamble of the Act of 1647 is aimed straight at the Church of Rome and at those Anglicans who affected her ways, and the Act itself is alive with the spirit that emanated from Erasmus and Luther.

The question where the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay got their educational ideas has been sometimes

¹ On the authority of a passage in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, it has been assumed that Comenius was offered the presidency of Harvard College. Mr. W. S. Monroe has subjected the assumption to a thorough examination, and reached the conclusion that Mather was in error. — *Educational Review*, November, 1896, "Was Comenius called to Harvard?"

asked. These Puritans were Englishmen, and they sought to reproduce Old England, freed from what they thought her faults, in New England. The men who laid the foundations of the new Cambridge had studied at the old Cambridge, and they patterned after it. The grammar schools that they set up in Boston and the other towns were modelled after the grammar schools that they had attended in the old home. The originals of the primary schools are less definite. Still the three grades of schools grow out of the nature of studies as related to the human mind: Comenius had already formulated the division in *The Great Didactic*; while the idea, and to a certain extent the practice, of the tripartite division had become familiar in all countries that had been touched by the genius of Protestantism.

How generally or completely the foregoing legis-
lation was carried out in Massachusetts, it is not
easy at this distance of time to determine. (In gen-
 eral it may be said that the system of education
 established in those early years grew for a time
 with the growth of the Commonwealth.) The many
 learned to write and read in the elementary schools;
 the few fitted for college in the Latin schools and
 graduated at Harvard. (Previous to the Revolution
 Massachusetts, far more than any of the colonies
 outside of New England, was self-educated. The
 native schools furnished a supply of learned men
 for the service of the State and of the Church.)

The primary schools and grammar schools were
 created, managed, and in part supported by the
 towns, but they were not for a long time generally

free. The first planters had paid school fees in England, and they continued the practice in their new home. Thus Governor Winthrop says: "Divers free schools were erected, as at Roxbury (for maintenance whereof every inhabitant bound some house or land for a yearly allowance forever) and at Boston (where they made an order to allow forever £50 to the master and an house, and £30 to an usher, who should also teach to read and write and cipher, and Indian children were to be taught freely, and the charge to be by yearly contribution, either by voluntary allowance, or by rate of such as refused)." This order was confirmed by the General Court. Other towns did the like, providing maintenance by several means.¹

— But the logic of events led straight to free schools. The question, whether those who used the schools or the inhabitants of the town should maintain them in whole or in part, was left to those to determine who ordered the prudentials of the town, and these inclined more and more to town support. The cost of the schools tended to outgrow the ability of parents and guardians to keep them up; while private benevolence is commonly slow when the public authorities can touch the lever of public taxation. The poor were unable to pay the tuition of their children, and discrimination between the poor and the rich was odious in the democratic atmosphere that surrounded the colony. (And so the germs planted in 1642 and 1647 continued to grow until,

—
¹ *History of New England, 1630-1649.* Boston, 1853, Vol. II., p. 264.

about the middle of the eighteenth century, the schools became practically free. The same school pictured in *The New England Primer* is proof of the currency of primary teaching.

As time wore on there was little additional school legislation: the brief ordinances already enacted proved in the main sufficient. In 1671 the Court doubled the penalty imposed upon towns having one hundred families that failed to support a Latin school, and a little later it doubled it again. In 1683 the Court enacted that every town consisting of more than five hundred families or householders should set up and maintain two grammar schools and two writing schools, and that the penalty imposed on towns having two hundred families or householders that failed to comply with the requirement of the law should be £20.

Before the close of the seventeenth century, it is claimed, an educational declension had set in. The doubling on two occasions of the fine imposed upon towns that failed to comply with the compulsory law in respect to Latin schools, is significant. This declension is commonly ascribed to the wars with the Indians and the French that wasted the blood and treasure of the colony; the political and social contentions that disturbed its peace; the uncertain relations that existed between Massachusetts and the Mother Country, and internal, economic, and social changes. There can be no doubt, too, that the brightness of the early Puritan ideal had become dimmed. It was impossible even for the Puritans to resist the deteriorating influences of environment;

while in education it is always harder, other things being equal, to hold a large and somewhat heterogeneous community up to a high standard than a small and select one. (One of the internal changes that worked against the school should be particularized.

(For a century or more the schools were all town schools, and what is now known as the Township Unit System prevailed. There were no school officers as such, but the selectmen, assisted by the ministers, who were real school supervisors, carried on the schools under the laws, subject to the instructions given by the freemen in the town meeting. The typical New England town of the first period was a small concentration of population, with outlying farms and a piece of common land grouped around the church and schoolhouse. This organization tended strongly to intensify the internal life of the community, as well as to make it much more capable of resisting external attacks. Sometimes the public authority defined the circle within which houses must be built, as one or two miles of the meeting-house.¹

(But when the increase of the colony and the down-

¹ W. B. Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England*, Vol. I., pp. 282, 283, gives the following description:

"Next the meeting-house, locally and in the hearts of the settlers, was the common school. The location and definition of the Haverhill building, about 1670, for schools and for other uses of the community, was a type of the system. The house was placed on the common land, as near the meeting-house, 'which now is as may be.' It was to be used for schools and for a watch-house, and on Sabbath days for the entertainment, between services, of those who did not go home. It was in substance an 'annex' of the meeting on its social side. There they taught reading, writing, arith-

fall of King Philip removed or mitigated the immediate fear of danger, the growing population of the towns began to break ranks and scatter into the wilderness. Towns increased in number rapidly. But this was not all: the character of the towns, socially and economically, and to some extent politically, began to change. The new town was not so much a body of population gathered about the meeting-house and schoolhouse, as it was a body of population scattered over a township. Being less concentrated, life was less intense and vital than before. For example, a single school or a single church no longer answered the wants of the people as well as it had done, and a process of modification set in, which naturally went much farther in the educational sphere than in the religious sphere. We now begin to meet the "travelling" school or "moving" school, which for a time gained a considerable prominence, and continued to the time of Horace Mann. The travelling school reversed the usual practice: the school went to the children, not the children to the school; that is, the single town school was kept a certain time in one corner of the town, then in another, and so on until the circuit had been completed, the periods that it spent in the different localities being equal or unequal, as circumstances might determine. Even grammar schools

metic; in some instances, Latin and Greek, and 'good manners.' But in most schools there was little progress beyond the elementary rudiments. As in the famous Pepperell family, near Kittery Point, an English grammar was preserved, to show the teaching, but the evidences are that the pupils made scant headway in such abstruse learning."

circulated. This method was called "squadroning out" the schools.¹ But this evil was light and transient compared with those now to be mentioned. Soon the one central school of the town began to break up into a plurality of schools in the angles or "squadrons" of the town. For a time these schools were managed by the selectmen as before; but in a democratic society the portions of the town that had once gained schools would naturally soon begin to demand that their management be handed over to them, and just as naturally, the townships first, and then the Commonwealth, would in the long run yield to the demand. The result was the appearance and establishment of the school district. At first the district was established solely for the purpose of bringing the school to the people, and of regulating school attendance, leaving control, as before, in the selectmen of the town; but in time it became fully autonomous, a body politic and corporate.² In its rudiments the district system was in practical operation by the middle of the last century, but it was not formally legalized in Massachusetts until near its close. There can be no doubt that it tended to the diffusion of education, or that this diffusion was purchased at the cost of depth and thoroughness. Had the district served simply the first purposes that it was created to accomplish, it would have been much more than defensible under

¹ G. H. Martin, *The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*. Boston, 1894, Lect. II.

² *The Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1894, 1895*, Chap. XXXIV.

existing conditions. Perhaps the system worked for the best as it was; but the disruption of the central educational authority in the town, when it came, and the introduction of a plurality of authorities, entailed upon the Commonwealth serious evils which will claim our attention hereafter. The old system of town control did not disappear at once; in fact, the Law of 1789, soon to be mentioned, assumes that it is still in vigorous operation.

In 1780 the constitution of Massachusetts was framed, ratified, and put in operation. It took under its protecting ægis the State system of education. It contains by far the most generous recognition of education found in any of the State constitutions of the period, and has never been outgrown. The constitution was followed, in 1789, by a revision and codification of the school laws, which was practically an adaptation of the law to the existing state of things. The declension of this law from the standard set by the Puritans is very marked in two particulars. A six-months' school takes the place of the earlier permanent school, and two hundred families is substituted for one hundred in the description of towns required to maintain a Latin school. This law would have wrought great havoc, provided all the towns had been complying with the old requirement. Under the old law two hundred and thirty towns out of two hundred and sixty-five were required to maintain a Latin school; under the new law, only a hundred and ten.¹ This was a long step

¹ Martin, *The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*, Lect. III.

in the wrong direction, and was soon followed by others of the same kind.

Mr. Weeden calls the early part of the eighteenth century "the dark days" of New England in education and social culture. "Schools were half neglected in many districts; in a few they were totally neglected." The daughters of men holding important offices in town and church were obliged often to make a mark instead of writing their signature. Yet in many places there was a dame school, and women performed important functions in education." English grammar was a rare science. Mr. Martin makes the more specific statement that "of women whose names appear in the recorded deeds of the early part of the eighteenth century, either as grantors of property or as relinquishing dower, something less than forty per cent sign their names; all the others make their mark."² Towards the close of the same century Mr. Weeden reports that Noah Webster's Spelling Book was just coming into use, with Webster's Selections, Morse's Geography, and the Youth's Preceptor. The Bible was the ground work of all reading. "The helps to the pupils being few in comparison with modern resources and methods, the self-help and reliance developed by this crude system of education was something remarkable."³

¹ *The Economic and Social Condition of New England, etc.*, p. 419.

² *The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*, p. 75.

³ Reviewing the whole course of education in a typical Massachusetts town down to 1800, Mr. C. F. Adams has said: "In point of fact, the children were neither taught much, nor were they taught well; for through life the mass of them, while they could do little

The American Revolution did not, as we might now think it should have done, usher in an educational revival. The war left the country too much exhausted, and there were too many other things to think of. Colleges at once began to multiply, but the new institutions failed to maintain the earlier college standard. No new ideas, inspirations, or enthusiasms marked the period.¹

In respect to public schools, Massachusetts continued on her downward course. The recognition of the school districts in 1789 left the powers of taxation and control still in the hands of the town: the districts served for supply only. If a district wanted a new schoolhouse built or an old one re-

more in the way of writing than rudely scrawl their names, could never read with real ease or rapidity, and could keep accounts only of the simplest kind. As for arithmetical problems, the knowledge of them was limited to the elementary multiplication, division, addition, and subtraction. None the less, after a fashion and to a limited extent, the Braintree school child, like the school children of all other Massachusetts towns, could read, could write, and could cipher; and for those days, as the world then went, that was much."—*Three Episodes in Massachusetts History*. Boston, 1882, p. 781.

¹ The Marquis de Chastellux, a member of the French Academy and a major-general in the French army under Count de Rochambeau, travelled extensively in the United States in 1780-1782. He states that he found Americans suffering not a little from the reaction which occurred frequently that their language was the language of their oppressors. This feeling "they carried so far," the Marquis says, "as seriously to propose introducing a new language; and some persons were desirous, for the convenience of the public, that the Hebrew should be substituted for the English. The proposal was that it should be taught in the schools, and made use of in all public acts."—*Travels in North America*, etc. Translated from the French by an English gentleman who lived in America at that period. London, 1787, Vol. II., pp. 265, 266.

paired, there was nothing for it but to provide the means by voluntary contributions. But in 1800 the taxing power was conceded to the districts so far as providing building sites, schoolhouses, and furniture was concerned. In 1817 the districts became corporations with the usual powers. In 1827 the districts gained the power to choose and contract with their own teachers, the power being exercised by a prudential committeeman who might be chosen in town meeting, but who was commonly chosen in school district meeting. The end of the road had now been reached. Democratic ideas had triumphed; and it was not until the Act of 1882 swept the new system away that the system of the Puritans was restored. Two limitations remained. The town still determined the total amount of school money to be raised, and levied the tax; but when the money had once been apportioned to the districts there was no accounting and no responsibility. Legally, the certifying of teachers still continued a town function, but this was more nominal than real. The districting of towns was not compulsory, and some were never districted. The foundation of the State school fund was laid in 1834.

The results following the later legislation that has been recounted were both social and educational in character. There ensued the contentions, school politics, irresponsibility, favoritism, small ideas, and wastefulness; the small schools, short terms, low ideals, lack of oversight, poor teachers, and poor teaching that have generally marked the introduction of the Local District System. In 1826 the law

was so changed that no town was required to maintain a town high school unless it contained five hundred families, and then it was excused from providing instruction in the Latin and Greek languages unless its population so desired. Previous to 1826 there were one hundred and seventy-two towns in the State that were required to maintain schools in which Latin and Greek were taught; the legislation of that year removed the obligations from all of these but seven, and the seven were all maritime towns. Nor was Latin much taught in the schools that professed to teach it. The ancient and honorable name "grammar school" now disappeared from the Massachusetts statute book, and the name "high school" took its place. Verily, the State had found the descent to Avernus an easy one! The people of Massachusetts seemed almost as anxious to get rid of their schools as their ancestors had been to get them.

In the second half of the eighteenth century there set in an important educational movement that was partly the effect and partly the cause of the decline of the public schools. This was the founding of academies. Dummer Academy was opened, in Newbury, in 1763, but was not incorporated until 1782.) Other institutions of the same grade followed in quick succession. The first of these schools originated in private beneficence; but about the close of the century the legislature adopted the policy of making such academies as complied with the terms of the law grants of wild land in the District of Maine, a half township each, thereby giving the

schools so favored a quasi-public character. The academies may be viewed under two aspects.

First they took the place, for the most part, that the decayed grammar schools no longer filled as fitting schools for college. In some counties at that time boys who fitted for college at home were compelled to fit themselves, with such assistance as they could get from the pastors of the churches. The academies sent to the colleges a better class of students than they had been receiving, thus enabling them to raise their requirements for admission. They were also finishing schools, sending into society much larger numbers of pupils than they sent to the colleges. Upon the whole, the standard of the academies was probably higher than that of the grammar schools had been. They taught the English, Latin, Greek, and French languages; writing, arithmetic, geography, declamation, geometry, logic, and natural philosophy. Some of the charters also embraced the clause, "And such other liberal arts and sciences as the trustees shall direct." On this side there is nothing but good to be said of the academies.

But there is another side to the shield. The new schools hastened the decline of the old ones, and made their practical abolition, in 1826, possible. No community can emphasize two competing systems of education; and by as much as Massachusetts built up her academies, she pulled down her grammar schools. Besides, along with the academies a class of schools more distinctly private, and commonly of an inferior grade, sprang up. What might have

been anticipated, followed: people who were able to pay for the schooling of their children sent them to the academies and private schools, while those who were not able sent theirs to the public schools. So the schools, taken together, contributed to build up an odious class distinction that the old Puritans never would have brooked on Massachusetts soil. To break down this middle wall of partition was a part of the work of Horace Mann.

So far as the public records show, the Pilgrims of Plymouth were much slower to move than the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay. The first schools, no doubt, were individual or associated private enterprises. In 1658 the Court proposed to the several townships that they take into serious consideration the provision of a schoolmaster in every town, to train up the children to reading and writing, and five years later this recommendation was repeated. In 1673 the Court voted that the charge of the free school, which was £30 a year, should be paid by the treasurer out of the profits arising from the fishery at Cape Cod, and the next year the grant was renewed and confirmed. In 1677 the Court gave to the towns that should maintain a grammar school, taught by "any meet man," power to levy a school rate, and decreed a fine of £5 upon all towns of seventy families and upwards that should not maintain such a school. Plymouth was in all ways a feebler colony than Massachusetts Bay—in education as in other things. The Massachusetts school laws were extended over Plymouth when the consolidation took place in 1691.

II. THE OTHER NEW ENGLAND STATES

Connecticut was an offshoot from Massachusetts, and her institutions were like those of the parent colony, not so much by reason of imitation, as by reason of the operation of similar causes.¹ The founders of Connecticut were men of the same kind as the founders of Massachusetts Bay. In respect to education, the daughter followed the mother, but not with equal steps. Schools were established both at Hartford and New Haven almost at the birth of the two colonies, and after the union, in 1662, there was a single school system. From this time there was a continuous educational development in the colony.

Connecticut was exceedingly prolific of school laws; important legislation was had in 1672, 1690, and 1750. By the time that the statutes of the Commonwealth were revised in 1750, the schools were tending slowly downward, owing to the operation of causes similar to those already met with in Massachusetts. Here we encounter again the tendency to disintegration, whereby schools were multiplied and weakened. In 1766 towns and societies were authorized to divide themselves into proper and necessary districts for keeping their schools, every one with its own share of the public money. "By the

¹ An elaborate History of Education in Connecticut from the earliest times to 1854 is found in Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. IV., pp. 657-710; Vol. V., pp. 115-154; Vol. XIII., 725-736; Vol. XIV., pp. 244-275, 276-331. To these may be added the article on "Henry Barnard," Vol. I., pp. 659-738. For the History of the Connecticut Common School Fund, see Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. VI., pp. 367-424.

practical operation of this act," says Dr. Barnard, "the school system of Connecticut, instead of embracing schools of different grades, was gradually narrowed down to a single district school, taught by one teacher in the summer and a different teacher in the winter, for children of all ages and in variety of study residing within certain territorial limits." This step was followed by others in the same direction until 1798, when an act passed that substituted for the town a new corporate body known as a "school society" with territorial limits sometimes coextensive with the town, in some places embracing part of a town, and in others parts of two or three towns. "For a time," Dr. Barnard says, "the effect of this change was not apparent, but, coupled with the change in the mode of supporting schools provided for about this time by public funds, and dispensing with the obligation of raising money by tax, the results were disastrous." The reference here is to the State school fund, soon to be mentioned. The grammar schools ceased to be obligatory, but every school society might, by a vote of two-thirds of the inhabitants present in any legally held meeting, establish a high school for the common benefit of all the inhabitants, in which reading, penmanship, English grammar, composition, arithmetic, and geography, as well as the Latin and Greek languages, and the first principles of religion and morality, should be taught.

The common schools of the Commonwealth had always been the main reliance of the people in respect to the rudiments of education; they were re-

sorted to by the people generally for these studies, and with such success that, according to Dr. Barnard, it was rare to find a native of Connecticut who could not read "the Holy Word of God and the good laws of the State." In 1795 the legislature set apart the proceeds of the Western lands belonging to the State, \$1,200,000, for a perpetual common school fund. This fund soon became productive, and there is reason to think that for a time it gave an impulse to popular education. Most unfortunately, however, the State made the fatal mistake of granting the money to the school districts unconditionally, instead of requiring them to match the money proceeding from the fund, dollar for dollar, with money raised by taxation, thus teaching the people, not to rely upon themselves, but rather to look to a permanent fund, the income of which would either be stationary or tend to diminish, while the cost of keeping up the schools would necessarily increase. A Connecticut-born man of the highest authority has told the result in three sentences: "Before 1837 Connecticut surpassed the other States in the education of its people. But the mighty engine of supervision wielded by a Horace Mann immediately turned the scale in favor of Massachusetts. Municipal taxation proved a far more powerful instrument than a school fund, although the latter had done good service in its day."¹

(For a time New Hampshire and Maine were depend-

¹ Dr. W. T. Harris, preface to J. L. Pickard's *School Supervision*. See also the *Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools*, pp. 24, 25, 126, 127.

encies of Massachusetts — the first until 1692, and the second until 1820. While they continued in this condition, all the Massachusetts laws applied to them; but owing to various causes, as the greater distance from the centre of authority, the greater sparseness and smaller wealth of the population, and the larger prominence of frontier life, these laws were never as fully carried out as in Massachusetts proper. Still in a very imperfect way the characteristic educational institutions of Massachusetts were reproduced in both districts — elementary schools, grammar schools, academics, and colleges.

When New Hampshire came to be an independent government, it regularly copied the Massachusetts school laws; but they only existed on the statute books, never being enforced. In 1789 the legislature repealed all existing acts, and passed a new one authorizing English grammar schools for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic in the towns, and grammar schools for teaching Latin and Greek in the shire and half-shire towns. Jeremy Belknap, writing in 1792, says that formerly, when there were but few towns, much better care was taken to observe the law concerning schools than after the settlements were multiplied; but there was never uniform attention paid to the matter in all places. Much depended upon the character and influence of the leading men in the town, and those who were disposed to do so had little difficulty in finding ways of evading the law.¹

When Maine became an independent State, she con-

¹ *History of New Hampshire*. Boston, 1792, Vol. III., p. 288.

tinued to develop the educational system that had sprung up under the dominion of Massachusetts.

The original population of Vermont was mainly furnished by Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, the last one preponderating. The New Hampshire Grants gave character to the State. Naturally, therefore, we find reproduced in feeble form the common educational institutions of New England. Local initiative and control mark the first schools, and a purely voluntary system of education sprang up before there was any regular form of government. The first constitution declared that a competent number of schools ought to be maintained in each town for the convenient instruction of youth, and that one or more grammar schools ought to be incorporated and properly supported in each county. In 1794 the towns were authorized by the legislature to levy a local tax for the support of schools, and measures were taken to provide an endowment of school lands. Three years later the legislature enacted that each town should support a school or schools; but instead of imposing a pecuniary fine for non-compliance, the law merely stipulated that towns should forfeit their right to a part of the general school tax. A Vermont historian, writing in 1809, remarks upon the attention that was paid to the education of children. Parents did not so much aim to have their children acquainted with the liberal arts and sciences, as to have them all taught to read with ease and propriety, to write a plain and legible hand, and to have them acquainted with the rules of arithmetic, so far as might be necessary to carry on the

common occupations of life. He represents that these attainments were well-nigh universal. Enlarging upon their practical value, he uses the following language: "Such kind of education and knowledge is of more advantage to mankind than all the speculations, disputes, and distinctions that metaphysics, logic, and scholastic theology have ever produced. In the plain common sense promoted by the one, virtue, utility, freedom, and public happiness have their foundations. In the useless speculations produced by the other, common sense is lost, folly becomes refined, and the useful branches of knowledge are darkened and forgot."¹

Among the New England States, Rhode Island has an educational history that is peculiarly her own. She did not enact a common school law until the year 1800, and this she did not enforce, but rather repealed three years later. Not until 1828 was such a law put upon the statute book that remained there. But it must not be supposed that the people from Roger Williams' day down were altogether unschooled. Besides domestic instruction, there were voluntary schools carried on by individuals, associations, or towns. Schools are mentioned from time to time in the town records. An annalist of Providence, describing the state of things that existed towards the close of the last century, says that previous to 1770 schools were but little thought of; there were in his neighborhood three small schools, not counting an equal number of dame schools, with

¹ Samuel Williams, *History of Vermont*. Burlington 1809, Vol. II., pp. 370, 371.

perhaps a dozen scholars each. It was not uncommon to meet with people who could not write their names.¹ The causes that made the history of Rhode Island so unique in other particulars explain this singular state of affairs.

III. GENERAL VIEW OF NEW ENGLAND, 1780-1830

John Adams, writing to the Abbé de Mably, in 1782, found the key to New England history in four institutions: the towns, churches, schools, and militia. After stating the terms of the law in regard to schools, he said: "All the children of the inhabitants, the rich as well as the poor, have a right to go to these public schools. There are formed the candidates for admission as students into colleges at Cambridge, New Haven, Princeton, and Dartmouth. In these colleges are educated future masters for these schools, future ministers for these congregations, doctors of law and medicine, and magistrates and officers for the government of the country."²

¹ T. B. Stockwell, *Public Education in Rhode Island*, Providence, Rhode Island, p. 11. An article entitled "Common Schools in Rhode Island," *The North American Review*, Vol. LXVII., pp. 240-256, 1848, contains an interesting account of the condition of education in that State from the earliest times.

² *Works of John Adams*, Vol. V., p. 495. Noah Webster, replying to Dr. Priestley in 1800, wrote: "The truth seems to be that in the Eastern States knowledge is more diffused among the laboring people than in any country on the globe. The learning of the people extends to a knowledge of their own tongue, of writing and arithmetic sufficient to keep their own simple accounts; they read not only the Bible and newspapers, but almost all read the best English authors, as the *Spectator*, *Rambler*, and the works of Watts, Doddridge, and many others. If you can find any country in Europe where this is done to the same extent as in New England, I am very ill informed." — HORACE E. SCUDDER, *Noah Webster*, p. 106.

Soon after his election to the presidency of Yale College, Dr. Timothy Dwight began a series of travels that extended over a number of years, in the course of which he visited all the principal regions of New England and New York; and his notes, written at the time for the interest of his family, were afterwards published. He says of the New Englanders, as a whole, that they had established parochial schools at such near distances as to give every child, except in very recent settlements, an ample opportunity of acquiring the common branches. He claims for New England greater educational advantages than can be accorded to any other country of the same wealth and population in the world. In his review of Connecticut, he confesses the absence of statistics, but from such data as he has at hand, he estimates that there were in the State more than fourteen hundred schools, with an attendance of more than forty thousand pupils. Children who lived near enough to the schoolhouse were generally sent to school at three years of age, but sometimes at two years; from eight to ten years of age many of them were employed, in the warm season, in the business of the family; while girls often left school at twelve, and most commonly at fourteen years of age. He says there was scarcely a child in the State who was not taught reading, writing, and arithmetic; poverty had no effect to exclude any one from this degree of education. Every school society appointed suitable overseers or visitors of the schools within its limits. These overseers examined the instructors, displacing such as might be found deficient, or would not con-

form to the regulations; superintended and directed the instruction of the children in religion, morals, and manners; appointed the public exercises; visited the schools twice at least during each season, particularly to direct the daily reading of the Bible by such children as were capable of it, and their weekly instruction in some approved catechism, and recommended that the master should conclude the exercises of each day with prayer. In the schools other instructions were added to reading, writing, and keeping accounts, according to the disposition of the teachers and the wishes of the parents. At first children of both sexes were placed under the instruction of women teachers, at a more advanced stage under that of men. Throughout a considerable part of the country the sexes were sent to different schools. Dr. Dwight reports that there were more than twenty academies in Connecticut, about half of them incorporated, and somewhat less than half sustained by their own funds. In Massachusetts there were forty-eight, all incorporated and most, if not all of them to some extent, endowed. The District of Maine had its full proportional share. New Hampshire had a list of thirteen academies, and Vermont of twelve. The lack of schools in Rhode Island he attributed to the general causes that had worked in the history of the State, and particularly the course that had been pursued relative to religion and churches.¹ The period here covered is 1796-1815.

¹ *Travels in New England and New York.* By Timothy Dwight, S.T.D., LL.D., late President of Yale College, etc. In four volumes, illustrated with maps. London, 1823, Vol. I., pp. 460, 461; Vol. III., pp. 84, 85; Vol. IV., pp. 284-287, 292, 293.

Mr. James G. Carter, in two publications that will be described more at length in the next chapter, writing in 1824-1825, gives a somewhat different view of matters. It does not follow, however, that popular education has in the mean time lost ground. Carter's object was to reform the schools, and not merely to report on their condition, and he was therefore critical and suggestive. He says that the free schools of Massachusetts had received almost no legislative attention for forty years. They had not lost ground absolutely, but relatively; they had even improved, but had not kept pace with the progress of society in other respects. There had never been a time when the schools of the Commonwealth were farther in the rear of society than now, and the retrograde movement was being accelerated. Mr. Carter declared that if things went on as they were going, twenty years longer, the institution which had always been the glory of New England would be extinct. The district schools were in session from three to six months in the year, and often longer. The winter schools were taught by men, the summer schools by women. The subjects taught in all the schools were reading, spelling, and English grammar; in the better schools writing, arithmetic, history, and geography were taught in addition. The summer schools ranged from twenty to forty pupils, the winter schools from thirty to eighty. Both sexes attended summer and winter; the summer schools were intended particularly for the younger children, the winter schools for the older ones. Maintaining a winter school cost six or eight dollars a week, a

summer school two or three dollars a week. The colleges and academies furnished the better schools competent teachers; but a majority of the teachers found in the country schools lacked experience, education, and professional training. A very great majority of them had received their own education in precisely such schools as those that they taught themselves. Mr. Carter contends stoutly that the influence of the academies on the free schools is very harmful. Where the academies flourish most the free schools flourish least. The property of the rich is still subject to taxation for school purposes, as before the academies appeared; but the interest of the higher classes, their directive intelligence, go mainly to the schools in which their own children are taught. The first result is that a social differentiation begins in the schools of the Commonwealth; there are schools for the rich and schools for the poor—a state of things that would have been very hateful to the old Puritans. Thus the schools were sapping the foundation of the ancient democracy. As we shall see hereafter, this growing evil was one that Mr. Mann strove to the utmost to counteract. The State school fund of Connecticut had not met expectations; the common schools were no better than those of Massachusetts, if they were as good; the people had not been stimulated to tax themselves to augment the income of the fund.¹

¹ In his book entitled *A New England Boyhood*, New York, 1893, Rev. Edward Everett Hale gives an interesting picture of school life in Boston in the decade 1825-1835. He attended a private school at first, and afterwards the Latin school. There was no thought of sending him to a public school; there was no public school below

In the course of the preceding pages mention has been made of the dame school. While considerably prominent, this school never attained such conspicuity in New England as in Old England. It may be doubted whether it would have commanded the genius of a New England Shenstone. It was sometimes called a "ma'am" school. For example, Rev. Samuel J. May, a Unitarian minister of note in his time, born in 1797, reports that between the ages of five and eight years he attended ma'am schools in Boston.¹ In 1817 as many as one hundred and fifty-four private schools were reported in Boston, nineteen of them taught by men and one hundred and thirty-five by women. The great majority of these private schools were dame schools.

In some respects the education of women is a better gauge of public education than that of men. It is worthy of observation that previous to 1789 girls were not admitted to the public schools of Boston. At the reorganization of the schools in that year they were admitted to the grammar schools,² but not

the Latin school to which his father would have sent him any more than he would have sent him to jail.

¹ *Life of Samuel J. May*. Boston, 1873, p. 22.

² The school nomenclature of Boston, and to some extent of Massachusetts, is perplexing. (1) The Latin school and the grammar school of early times were the same thing. Its function has been described above. In course of time the name "grammar" as applied to this school was dropped. (2) The writing school was created to meet the wants of pupils who desired to be directly fitted for business pursuits; it emphasized writing, arithmetic, accounts, and pen-making. (3) Towards the close of the last century reading schools appeared which laid stress on instruction in the English language. (4) By 1820 the name "grammar school" was given to the writing and reading schools. The characteristic study was English grammar, as Latin was of the Latin school. At first the reading and

at the same hours as the boys, and only from April to October of each year.

In 1785 the school committee of Boston denied admission to the writing schools of children unless they were seven years of age. The laws of the State provided that youth should not be sent to the grammar schools unless they had learned to read plain English lessons; the laws also provided for preparatory schools where English was not taught; but following the adoption of the rule of 1785 there were no such schools in Boston, and, accordingly, all children in order to prepare for the grammar schools were thrown back on private schools. This state of things continued until 1818, when, after a determined effort by a majority of the respectable people of Boston to prevent it, the town meeting voted that primary schools should be established. Hundreds of children now flocked to these schools, which were superior to the competing private schools.¹ What passed for

writing schools were in separate buildings, and even when they were found in the same building they had each its own staff of teachers. The double-headed system continued until 1847, when the present system of grading was introduced. (5) In 1845, two years before these schools were consolidated, the reading schools taught reading, geography, and grammar as required studies, and history, natural philosophy, and astronomy as optional studies. In the writing schools writing and arithmetic were required, while algebra, geometry, and book-keeping were options. See Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. V., p. 325; Woodbridge, *American Journal of Education*, 1826, Vol. I., p. 32; *Annals of Education*, Vol. IV., 1834, p. 556. The writer also acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. G. H. Martin, author of *The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*, for personal assistance in clearing up this difficult subject.

¹ *Annals of the Boston Primary School Committee from its First Establishment in 1818 to its Dissolution in 1855*. Compiled by Joseph N. Wightman. Boston, 1860, pp. 58, 59.

good primary teaching in Boston in 1820, at least with one very intelligent man, can be learned from Mr. Elisha Ticknor's report of an official visitation that he made to some of these primary schools in that year. He says a child six years of age repeated to him from the spelling book between fifty and sixty rules, being all it contained, in relation to letters and pronunciation. He was surprised by this remarkable display of memory and attention, and says the child appeared at the same time to understand the rules. The teacher assured him that no child was allowed to pass from the second class to the first one who was incapable of this feat. There is much more to the same effect.¹

Any account of education in New England would be incomplete that omitted *The New England Primer*, which for several generations did more to form the minds of youth than any other book except the Bible. With its cuts, poetical selections, Bible facts, brief biographies of ancient worthies, verses, and precepts it was admirably adapted to make a deep impression upon the minds of children; but such an impression as few parents called intelligent would to-day look upon with favor. *The Primer* was the stronghold of the Calvinistic theology. Still further it was reinforced by *The Assembly's Shorter Catechism*, in which the minister questioned the pupils at recurring intervals.

IV. THE OTHER STATES

There are two reasons why the larger parts of the Union can be passed lightly over in this history.

¹ *Annals of the Boston Primary School Committee*, p. 59.

One is, that outside of New England we do not meet with a single public school system until this century was well opened, and the other, that Horace Mann built on the Massachusetts foundation. It does not follow, however, that there was no elementary education in the other States because they had no public elementary schools. When men come habitually to associate certain effects with certain causes exclusively, they are apt to conclude that in all cases where these causes are absent, the familiar effects do not exist. This is a great fallacy. No doubt there was more instruction in the old Middle and Southern States, for example, than we, accustomed to our present methods of education, would at first think possible.

Still it cannot be doubted that, down to the beginning of the Common School Revival, the other States were all far in the rear of Massachusetts and Connecticut. For this there were many reasons, some external and some internal. Nowhere outside of New England do we find that intense town life which did so much to stimulate men's minds, including schools and learning. And nowhere else, save among the Scotch-Irish of the frontiers, did the prevailing type of religious belief and ecclesiastical organization tend so strongly to diffuse intelligence and promote education. There was a wide interval between the planters of the South, for instance, and the farmers, lawyers, ministers, and tradesmen of the New England States. Learning held no such place in the mind of the one as in the mind of the other. The typical Virginian was a man of vigorous facul-

ties, knowledge of the world, force of character, and book education sufficient for his purposes; he bore himself well on the plantation and in the hunting field, in the vestry meeting, at the hustings, and in the House of Burgesses; but he was no theologian, dialectician, or scholar. He was a Protestant, indeed, but he belonged to the Established Church, which was always sluggish in respect to popular education as compared with the more vigorous dissenting bodies that have done such great things for education on the Continent, in Great Britain, and in the United States. Finally, at the South slavery was an important factor that the historian who treats the subject thoroughly must deal with.

The means of education employed in the different States now under consideration were not very dissimilar. Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, replying to a question sent out by the Commissioners of Plantations in 1670, relative to the instruction of children in religion, threw out a suggestion that is of wide application, applying, no doubt, to secular as well as religious teaching. He said the same course was taken as in England outside of the towns, "Every man according to his ability instructing his children." Persons who were able to do so often engaged private tutors for their children. Others associated themselves together for the purpose of carrying on subscription schools. Andrew Bell, afterwards known to fame as the author of "The Madras System of Education," taught the learned languages in Virginia, in both a private and public capacity, in the years 1774-1781. Bell, it may be observed, vindicated his nationality

by accumulating £900 by teaching and speculating in tobacco and American currency, and his High Church and Tory principles by speaking ill of the country after he had left it. Southern gentlemen sometimes owned the teachers of their children: convicts or indentured persons whom they purchased of the skippers that laid them down in the harbors. There is an old story, not very well authenticated, that Washington received his early lessons from a convict servant whom his father had bought in the market.¹ The ministers of the churches often eked out their slender salaries and contributed to the enlightenment of their several communities by teaching school, and, perhaps still oftener, by teaching private pupils.

In education, as in other things, necessity is the mother of invention. In education, too, as in other things, general conditions assert themselves. Interesting examples, falling under both these observations, are furnished by types of schools that appeared at different times in different parts of the country. The "log colleges" of the Scotch-Irish, the "neighborhood schools" of Pennsylvania, and the "old field schools" of Georgia offer attractive features to the student of social life, as well as to the student of educational history. Indeed, the typical pioneer school is an object of much artistic as well as educational interest.

But it must not be supposed that west and south of the Hudson River the means of education were limited to such imperfect and precarious agencies as have been described—that there were no schools at once well organized and permanent. Most, if not all, of

¹ Paul Leicester Ford, *The True George Washington*, p. 60.

the States did something in some way for education. Some of them made grants of land for schools; some provided that escheats should inure to the benefit of learning. The oldest school in the country to-day is the School of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church in the city of New York, which was founded in 1633, and thus antedates the Boston Latin School two years.¹ The Dutch, and afterwards the English, founded schools in the towns of New York. South Carolina, perhaps on account of her Huguenot population, took a more active interest in education than some of the other States. A free school, in the old English sense of the word, is met with in Charleston in 1712. Philadelphia boasts of one or more schools that count their years from the days of William Penn. It is also to be observed that the New England men who flowed into the northern part of this State, and founded Westmoreland just after the French and Indian War, established a school system like the one that they had left behind them, which afterwards exerted a beneficial influence upon the course of school legislation. Previous to the opening of the new era New Jersey has little to offer to our consideration, and yet she is the only State that, previous to the Revolution, had founded two colleges, — Nassau Hall, now Princeton University, and Queens College, now Rutgers. More than in the Middle States, and far more than in New England, fathers south of Mason and Dixon's Line sent their sons to Europe to be edu-

¹ *History of the School of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church in the City of New York from 1633-1883. By authority of Consistory. Second edition revised and enlarged. New York, 1883.*

cated. Nor was it by any means uncommon for them to send their daughters also. The motives that operated to bring this about were religious zeal, interest in the old home, dearth of educational opportunity in the new home, and professional ambition. Young men, fitting for the professions of law and medicine, resorted to the English and Scottish schools in considerable numbers. Fifteen of the eighty-nine men who set their names to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, not counting the three of foreign birth and breeding, had studied in Europe; and it is significant that only one of the number, Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, represented a Northern State.¹ Charleston, South Carolina, sent more students across the ocean than any other equal population on the Continent.

The Washingtons belonged to the Northern Neck of Virginia, which is said to have sent more youth abroad for schooling than any other section of Virginia. George Washington's father and elder brothers were taught at Appleby School, England, and there is every reason to suppose that George himself

¹ The following are the names of the eighteen men: Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Dickinson, Edward Rutledge, John Rutledge, Benjamin Rush, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Arthur Lee, Richard Henry Lee, Wm. Paca, John Witherspoon, James Wilson, Thomas Hayward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton, Button Gwinett, John Blair, Robert Morris. Mr. Colyer Meriwether publishes a list of 114 Americans who were admitted to the Inns of Court, London, as members between 1759 and 1785. They are distributed as follows by States, not counting the 10 who are simply entered as "Americans": South Carolina, 44; Georgia, 3; North Carolina, 1; Virginia, 20; Maryland, 17; Pennsylvania, 10; New Jersey, 1; New York, 5; Massachusetts, 3. — *History of the Higher Education in South Carolina*. Washington, 1889.

would have gone there had not his father's death prevented. What he and the country lost, or gained, by the failure, if anything, suggests a curious subject for speculation.

In some of the States a quickening of interest in common schools accompanied, or soon followed, the Revolution. Mr. Jefferson's grand scheme, brought forward in 1776, was a melancholy failure, owing to the fact that Virginia was not ready for it. Still further, the law of 1796 was mainly ineffective because its provisions in regard to school supply were permissive when they should have been mandatory. The Virginia Literary Fund, a small common school endowment, dates from 1810. South Carolina created in 1811 the rudiments of a system of public schools, which continued until the Civil War. New York began to move slowly at first, but afterwards with a vigor that made partial amends for her past delinquency. Governor George Clinton urged the subject of education upon the legislature in 1787, and the Regents of the University of the State of New York were incorporated in that year. State lands were voted to schools two years later. In 1795 Governor Clinton urged the establishment of common schools throughout the State, and the legislature made, for five successive years, an annual appropriation of fifty thousand dollars for that purpose. When President Dwight visited New York City early in the century, he found no system of school education, nor anything which resembled such a system. He speaks of several charity schools belonging to the various churches, and mentions a school on the Lancasterian plan, conducted under the patronage

of the city corporation and containing, at different times, from five to seven hundred scholars. For the rest, he says schools were generally established in the following manner: "An individual, sometimes a liberally educated student, having obtained the proper recommendations, offers himself to some of the inhabitants as a schoolmaster. If he is approved and procures a competent number of subscribers, he hires a room and commences the business of instruction. Sometimes he meets with little, and sometimes with much, encouragement."¹ Still, from this time onward, we are able to trace a slow but steady progress. The State common school fund and the society afterward known as the Public School Society of the City of New York were both founded in 1805. In 1813 a State superintendent of common schools was appointed — the first officer of the kind in the country. Governor De Witt Clinton recommended a local visitatorial authority over the schools in 1826, and his recommendation bore fruit in the local superintendency, or its equivalent, established somewhat later.

The opening up of the West affected educational history in many ways. It created a vast educational need and supplied some new conditions. The National Government adopted the policy of devoting one thirty-sixth part of the wild lands in all the public land States to common schools, and of making each State a generous endowment for higher institutions of learning. This prime fact is never to be forgotten when dealing with Western education. Naturally, the people that flowed into the West carried with

¹ *Travels in New England and New York*, Vol. IV., p. 443.

them the ideas and institutions to which they had been habituated in their earlier homes — a fact that will enable us to despatch the new States in a few paragraphs.

Kentucky and Tennessee followed in the footsteps of Virginia and the Carolinas, but with a quicker stride. Many of their first inhabitants were Scotch-Irish from beyond the mountains, who were devoted to their ancestral religious and educational ideas. Academies, seminaries, colleges, universities even, appeared simultaneously with the establishment of civilization. Judge Hall relates in his *Romance of Western History* that the classical school sprang up at once in the wilderness; that "in rude huts were men teaching not merely the primer, but expounding the Latin poets, and explaining to future lawyers and legislators and generals the severe truths of moral and mathematical science."¹ Private schools were numerous in both States. The academies, seminaries, and colleges even must have furnished much elementary instruction; for it is impossible to believe that the ten colleges with 1419 students that Kentucky reported to the Census Bureau in 1840 were, most of them, colleges in anything but name. Both States were slow to build up common school systems, and neither one can be said to have accomplished anything worthy of the name before the great educational revival had fully set in. "Here, more than elsewhere," says Professor Shaler, dealing with education in Kentucky, "we see the vicious system of

¹ W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, pp. 183, 184.

county government by which the South is cursed — an evil that even as much as slavery has served to retard advancement in educational methods.”¹

Ohio had a greater variety of population, and so a greater variety of ideas and institutions, than her sister States at the South. She put in her first constitution the immortal declaration of the Ordinance of 1787, that schools and the means of education should forever be encouraged. Still, beyond taking steps to preserve and utilize the school lands, found the two State universities, and pass acts authorizing the incorporation of school societies, the legislature did nothing for education until 1821. All this time the people were wholly dependent upon voluntary agencies for the teaching of their children — private schools, academies, and the like. In the year just named the legislature authorized the division of townships into school districts, the appointment of school committees, and the imposition of a limited tax upon property for school purposes. School lots might be bought and schoolhouses erected at public expense. For teachers' salaries, the rate bill was the great reliance, but the committees might apply public funds to paying the charges of pupils whose parents were too poor to pay them. While this act was permissive, not mandatory, it laid the foundation of the State system of public instruction. New grants of power, accompanied by mandatory provisions, followed in due course of time. The public schools of Cincinnati were organized in 1829 under a special act, and four years

¹ Kentucky, in the American Commonwealth Series, p. 397.

later they counted 2000 pupils to 1230 reported in private schools.¹

The first constitution of Indiana, 1816, is noteworthy for two reasons. It was the first State constitution to throw its ægis over the public school lands, as it was the first to declare that the legislature, as soon as circumstances would permit, should provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a State university, where tuition should be gratis and equally open to all. While there is earlier legislation relating to education, some of it dating from Territorial days, the first real effort to establish a State system of instruction was made in 1824. Before this time, and after it too, until the State system had been formed, the educational facilities of Indiana were like those already met with in the South and West.

One fact of much significance relating to the Revolutionary era should receive due mention. Six of the States (counting Vermont) incorporated educational articles in the constitutions that they adopted in consonance with the advice of Congress, Pennsylvania leading the way.² These articles do not, however, appear to have been followed by appropriate legislation. After a sharp struggle the following article, which was practically a reaffirmation of the earlier one, was placed in the Constitution of Pennsylvania in 1790: "The legislature shall, as soon as

¹ W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, pp. 421, 424, 425.

² These provisions will be found grouped in *The Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1892, 1893*, Vol. II., pp. 1312-1317.

conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the State, in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis." Naturally enough, this clause gave rise to a class of public schools that were nicknamed "charity" schools and "pauper" schools, because they taught the children of the poor gratuitously, while requiring the rich and the well-to-do who patronized them to pay tuition fees. Experience shows that schools conducted on this basis will be despised by rich and poor alike. The experiment was tried in the early years of the Common School Revival by other States than Pennsylvania, and always with like results. The schools were despised because they were poor and for the poor, and they were poor because they were despised. The American public school is perhaps the most democratic of American institutions, and it cannot safely discriminate between man and man. The friends of popular education in Pennsylvania, determined to rid the State schools of the offensive labels, agitated the subject unceasingly, and in 1834 their labors were rewarded by the passage of the Free School Act, with which the history of education in the State takes a new departure.¹

While the first constitutional provisions were barren of immediate results, later ones were very fruitful. In time every State, old and new, assigned to education a status in its fundamental law. This fact

¹ J. P. Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania, Private and Public, Elementary and Higher, from the Time of the Swedes settled on the Delaware to the Present Day*. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1886. Sydney George Fisher, *The Making of Pennsylvania*, etc. Philadelphia, 1896, pp. 119-124.

is closely connected with one of the most pronounced features of modern education; that is, its secularizing tendency. In the Colonial time the common schools of New England were closely affiliated with the Church. The clergy used them, as they used their pulpits, and probably more effectively, as means of propagating their theological system. In the other States also education had a strong ecclesiastical basis. The educational provisions incorporated in the early constitutions mark the beginning of the transition from the old to the new order of things. They are an intimation, no doubt half unconscious at the time, that the State is about to take exclusive charge of the public school and make it a distinctly civil institution. The clause in the school law of Massachusetts, requiring resident ministers of the Gospel to use their best endeavors, that the youth of the towns shall regularly attend the schools, is the sole survival to the clergy of an educational function imposed by law that was once greater than the function exercised by civil officers.¹

While it is true, as stated above, that the American Revolution was not marked by new educational ideas, inspirations, and enthusiasms, it was still a part, and a very important part, of that great democratic movement which, in time, visited all progressive countries, and everywhere, but particularly in free countries, gave popular education a prodigious impulse.

¹ Much information relating to the state of education in the United States at the close of the last century will be found in the following work: *An Historical, Geographical, Commercial, and Philosophical View of the American United States and of the European Settlements in America and the West Indies*. By W. Winterbotham. In four volumes. London, 1795.

CHAPTER II

HORACE MANN'S FORERUNNERS

FREDERIC HARRISON tells us in one of his able essays that, in all human affairs, there is this peculiar quality: "They are the work of the combined labors of many. No statesman or teacher can do anything alone. He must have the minds of those he is to guide prepared for him. They must concur, or he is powerless. In reality he is but the expression of their united wills and thoughts."¹ This is just as true of educational movements as of any others. It must not therefore for a moment be imagined that the great educational revival in the United States came unheralded — that Horace Mann had no John the Baptist. On the other hand, for twenty years or more before his advent as an educational reformer, a definite preparation for such a revival had been going on. Indeed, the revival had already distinctly begun. It will be the aim of this chapter to name the principal of Mr. Mann's precursors, and briefly to characterize their work.

The writer of an "Essay on the Importance of Studying the English Language Grammatically," published in *The Massachusetts Magazine* for June, 1789, threw out one notable suggestion. He argued that,

¹ *The Meaning of History*, p. 19.

because the Latin schools maintained by the towns of Massachusetts in pursuance of law were seldom attended by more than three or four boys studying the learned languages, and because these boys were the only persons to reap any direct benefit from the great expense incurred, therefore these schools should be annihilated, and that there be established in every county in the State a public grammar school in which English grammar, Latin, Greek, rhetoric, geography, mathematics, etc., should be taught by an able preceptor in order to fit young gentlemen for college and school teaching. He urged that this preceptor, together with the school board of overseers, should examine every young gentleman designed for a school-master in reading, writing, arithmetic, and English grammar, and that those whom they found qualified for the office of school teaching, and able to teach these branches with ease and propriety, they should recommend for this purpose. If this was done, a worthy class of teachers would soon be forthcoming. This article led to nothing, and the only reason for mentioning it here is that it is the first suggestion of the kind found in our educational annals.¹

In 1816 Denison Olmstead, afterwards professor of natural philosophy and astronomy in Yale College, on taking his Master's degree at that institution, delivered

¹ This article was anonymous, but Dr. Barnard supposes that it was written by Mr. Elisha Ticknor, father of the distinguished scholar and teacher, Professor George Ticknor, who will soon be mentioned in his own right. — *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. II., p. 2; Vol. XVI., p. 25. See also J. P. Gordy, *The Rise and Growth of the Normal School Idea*. Washington, 1891, p. 9, and Horace Mann's *Common School Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 169.

an oration entitled "The State of Education in Connecticut," in which he urged the desirability of the State's establishing a seminary for schoolmasters, where gratuitous instruction should be furnished. The young Master of Arts worked out his plan in full, describing the organization of the proposed school, the instructors and the students, the curriculum, and the ends to be kept steadily in view. These ends were two in number. The pupils were to study and recite whatever they were afterwards to teach, partly for the purpose of acquiring a more perfect knowledge of these subjects, and partly for learning how to teach from the methods pursued and recommended by the principal. Ample instruction was also to be given by the principal in school organization and government. This scheme did not look beyond providing teachers for common schools. It will be seen that it formally recognizes professional instruction; in the previous plan this element is recognized only by implication. But for the time nothing practical came of Olmstead's ideas.¹

(The year 1823 was a fruitful one, both in thought and experiment. Professor J. L. Kingsley, of Yale College, contributed to the April number of *The North American Review* an article on the "Connecticut School Fund," in which he subjected the education actually furnished in the common schools to thorough examination and severe criticism, and urged that something should be done for the better preparation of teachers.

¹ Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. V., pp. 367-372; Gordy, *The Rise and Growth of the Normal School Idea*, pp. 10, 11.

He recommended the establishment of a superior school in every county of the State, intermediate between the common schools and the university, where those who aspired to teach in the common schools might themselves be first thoroughly instructed. In August of the same year, Mr. William Russell, then principal of an academy in New Haven, put forth a pamphlet entitled *Suggestions on Education*, in which he pointed out the great defects of the schools, teachers, and instruction, and joined with Olmstead and Kingsley in urging the provision of instruction expressly for the purpose of preparing teachers for their work.¹)

The practical experiment that the year 1823 witnessed was tried at Concord, Vermont, by Rev. Samuel R. Hall. Mr. Hall was sent to Concord as a missionary by the Domestic Missionary Society, and when urged to remain among the people as a minister, he consented to do so only on the condition that he should be permitted to open a school for the benefit of intending teachers. He was wholly without professional helps of any kind, and was obliged to rely upon his own resources and to pioneer his own way. He brought into his school a class of young pupils, that he might practically illustrate to his intending teachers his ideas of teaching and government. In the course of a few years the oral instruction that he was accustomed to give in this school grew into a book on teaching.² In his preface Mr. Hall speaks

¹ Barnard, *Normal Schools*, p. 9; Gordy, *The Rise and Growth of the Normal School Idea*, p. 11.

² The first edition of this work bore the title-page, *Lectures on Schoolkeeping*. By Samuel R. Hall. Boston: Published by Richard-

of the very imperfect preparation of teachers for their work, and says institutions could be established for educating teachers where they should not only be taught the necessary branches of literature, but be made acquainted with the science of teaching and the mode of governing a school. The book contains no pedagogical science, as we understand the phrase, but is devoted throughout to the most elementary practical instruction in the art of teaching. The author lays much stress on teaching objects, and there is evidence that he had a slight acquaintance with the work of Pestalozzi. He quotes a short passage from Madame de Staël, showing how the Swiss reformer managed his school through interest and pleasure. In its numerous editions this work had a wide circulation. The State of New York purchased ten thousand copies, with the view of supplying a copy to every school district in the State. The revised edition contained a new lecture on schoolhouses, in which may be found some humorous descriptions of houses that were in actual use. One master says the temple of learning in which he taught afforded a fine opportunity to winnow grain, for strong currents of wind constantly passed through it in all directions; twenty panes of glass were broken or gone, and a man might thrust his head through the holes; the few crazy desks and rickety seats furnished fine accommodations for writing; the fireplace was about as large as a vol-

son, Lord, and Holbrook. The fourth edition, 1833, is entitled, *Lectures to Schoolmasters on Teaching*. In the mean time the book had been revised and enlarged. It was published by Carter and Hendee, Boston.

cano's crater, and when it was filled with wood, well ignited, an ox might be roasted before it with little inconvenience.

In 1830 Mr. Hall removed to Andover, Massachusetts, and still later to Plymouth, New Hampshire, in both of which places he conducted schools for the preparation of teachers. He deserves this somewhat extended notice because in his own field he was a pioneer.¹

In 1825 Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet published, in a Hartford newspaper, a series of educational essays that were soon gathered into a pamphlet of forty pages, entitled *Plan of a Seminary for the Instruction of Youth*. He proposed that an institution should be established in every State for the express purpose of training candidates for the work of teaching the common branches of an English education. These essays attracted much attention at the time, and were afterwards republished, more or less abridged, in leading educational journals. Mr. Gallaudet said the professors of the institution should devote themselves to the theory and practice of education, and should prepare, deliver, and publish lectures on the subject. An experimental school was an integral part of the plan.²

We have now reached a time when it is no longer necessary to pass over a series of years to find matter pertinent to our purpose. From this time forward

¹ Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. V., pp. 373-385; Vol. XVI, p. 146.

² Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. I., p. 417; Vol. X., p. 16; Gordy, *The Rise and Growth of the Normal School Idea*, p. 14.

almost every year adds something of interest and value to the story. We shall, therefore, be obliged to proceed more summarily than heretofore in dealing with the matter that crowds upon our attention. First, however, the one man who did more to cast up a highway for Horace Mann than any other must receive a somewhat extended notice. This is Mr. James G. Carter, to whom Dr. Barnard says, "More than to any other one person belongs the credit of having first attracted the attention of the leading minds of Massachusetts to the necessity of immediate and thorough improvement in the system of free or public schools, and having clearly pointed out the most direct and thorough mode of procuring that improvement by providing for the training of competent teachers for these schools."

Mr. Carter was born at Leominster, Massachusetts, in 1795, and was bred up a farmer's son. He worked his own way through the academy and college, graduating from Harvard in 1820. He was a fellow-student and personal friend of Warren Colburn,¹ whose well-known text-books gave such an impetus to the study of arithmetic, and through arithmetic to the

¹ An extended biographical sketch of Warren Colburn will be found in Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. II., pp. 294-316. Colburn's book entitled *Intellectual Arithmetic upon the Inductive Method of Instruction*, known also as *The First Lessons*, was published in the year 1821. Professor Cajori calls this book the first American fruit of Pestalozzian ideas in teaching arithmetic. The same writer says the blackboard was introduced into this country early in this century by Frenchmen. — *The History and Teaching of Mathematics*, pp. 106, 117. A reference to the early use of the blackboard will be found in Rev. S. J. May's address entitled, "The Revival of Education," pp. 15, 16.

common schools. He continued to teach for a number of years after his graduation, and soon began to write for newspapers on educational subjects. To ability, scholarship, character, and interest in the subject he added as qualifications for such work, a thorough practical knowledge of the elementary and secondary schools of New England. In 1824 there appeared from his pen a pamphlet that is incomparably the best existing mirror of education in New England in the first quarter of this century.¹

Carter contends that the two principal causes which have operated against the free schools are bad teachers and bad text-books. He does not think that the incompetency of teachers is due to the negligence or indifference of the public so much as to the competition of business and professional life, which tends to prevent young men from becoming professional teachers. The men teachers may be divided into three classes: (1) Those who think teaching is easier and possibly a little more remunerative than common labor. (2) Those who are acquiring, or have acquired, a good education, and who take up teaching as a temporary employment, either to earn money for pressing necessities or to give themselves time to choose deliberately a regular profession. (3) Those who, conscious of weakness, despair of distinction or even the means of subsistence by other means.²

¹ *Letters to the Honorable William Prescott, LL.D., on the Free Schools of New England, with Remarks upon the Principles of Instruction.* Boston: Published by Cummings, Hilliard & Co., 1824, p. 123.

² Rev. S. J. May, a school examiner in a Connecticut town in 1822 and the years following, writes as follows: "I well remember

But Mr. Carter did not stop here. A few months later he contributed to a Boston journal a series of essays that dealt very largely with the same topics, and these essays were soon gathered up into a small volume.¹ Attention is again drawn to the incompetency of teachers, and the method of certificating them is particularly examined. The law of 1789, which committed the examination of teachers to the ministers in connection with the selectmen of the towns, worked very well while there was but one religious denomination and one minister in a town; but now, owing to the multiplication of ministers growing out of the division of parishes, the growth of sects, and the lowering of the average standard of ministerial education, it works very unsatisfactorily. For example, if there are six ministers in the same town of different characters, denominations, and qualifications, some of them perhaps hardly qualified to teach a common school themselves, how shall the matter be managed? A minister of one denomination may certify to the qualifications of a teacher whose constituency are of another denomination; while a minister in one corner of the town may certificate a teacher that one winter, for the nine schools in the small town where I lived, we rejected six out of fifteen applicants, because they did not understand notation and numeration, could not write correctly simple sentences of good English, and knew no more of the geography of the earth than of the 'Mecanique Celeste'; and yet they had come to us well recommended as having taught schools acceptably in other towns one, two, and three winters."—*The Revival of Education*. Syracuse, 1855.

¹ *Essays upon Popular Education, containing a Particular Examination of the Schools of Massachusetts and an Outline of an Institution for the Education of Teachers*. By James G. Carter. Boston: Bowles and Doorman, 1838.

in another corner. Then the ministers sometimes stand in awe of candidates or of the families to which they belong, fearing to offend them; strife and bitterness are thus introduced into the churches, so that the existing system works mischief in the ecclesiastical sphere, as well as in the educational sphere.

But the essay that gives character to this publication is the last one, entitled "Outlines of an Institution for the Education of Teachers." It is distinctly creative in character. In nothing that had appeared from the press thus far had this subject been so carefully thought out and presented, so far as the United States are concerned, as in this celebrated essay. It justifies the title that George B. Emerson bestowed upon the author, "Father of Normal Schools." Mr. Carter contends that insufficient stress has been laid upon the professional preparation of teachers. A teacher must know how to impart knowledge. Education is a science and must be taught as such. To do this work, the State should found and support an institution that would be free to all its pupils. This institution should embrace (1) an appropriate library and philosophical apparatus; (2) a principal and assistant-professors in the different departments; (3) a school for children of different ages, embracing both those desiring a general education and those fitting for teachers; (4) a board of commissioners representing the interests and the wishes of the public. The proposed institution would set the standard of qualifications for teachers, and would give stability, influence, and dignity to the teaching profession. The proposed school bears no distinctive name; the words

"normal" and "normal school" do not occur in the essay, nor is there any recognition whatever of similar schools that have been founded in Europe. In a footnote to one of the letters to Prescott, Mr. Carter gives some account of Pestalozzi, drawing his information from *The Edinburgh Review* and a work on Switzerland. The philosophers whom he mentions are Stewart, Locke, and Dr. Watts. We shall meet Carter again. A bill that he prepared embodying his ideas was introduced into the legislature in 1827, and failed of passing only by a single vote in the senate.¹

Mr. Carter's two pamphlets attracted immediate attention. Professor George Ticknor reviewed the *Letters to Prescott*, in *The North American Review*, and Dr. Orville Dewey the *Essays upon Popular Education*, in the same periodical. Theophilus Parsons reviewed the *Letters* in *The Literary Gazette*. These reviews were all highly commendatory. *The United States Review* also contained an article on Mr. Carter's institution for the education of teachers, the writer of which says that the country schools are everywhere degraded, and that they stand so low in the estimation of their warmest friends that it is thought a mean thing for any man but the mechanic, the artisan, or the laborer, to send his children to them for an education.

The revival of education was not confined to the region east of Hudson River. In 1825 Mr. Walter B. Johnson, of Germantown, Pennsylvania, published a pamphlet called *Observations on the Improvement*

¹ Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. X., p. 212, et seq.

of Seminaries of Learning in the United States, with Suggestions for its Accomplishment. Mr. Johnson urged the establishment of State schools for teachers, in which they might receive such academical and professional instruction as would properly prepare them for their important work. The same year also President Junkin, of Lafayette College, in a letter to the joint educational committee of the legislature, strongly urged the establishment in the existing colleges of Pennsylvania, of model schools and teachers' courses. The trustees of Lafayette, following the president's ideas, did found such a school, but being in advance of the time the effort soon failed.¹ In the West also the waters were beginning to move. In 1825 Dr. Philip Lindsley, on assuming the presidency of Cumberland College, soon after called the University of Nashville, Tennessee, delivered an address on the cause of education in that State, in which he strongly advocated the establishment of a State seminary for the education of teachers.²

Nor were professional educators the only persons who were awakening to the need of educational reform. Statesmen participated in the movement. De Witt Clinton, the enlightened governor of New York, who missed no opportunity to promote popular education, in 1826 submitted to the State legislature views that are singularly descriptive of the situation in most of our States to-day. He ranked teaching

¹ J. P. Wickersham, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, pp. 608, 609, 612; Gordy, *The Rise and Growth of the Normal School Idea*, p. 16.

² Barnard, *Normal Schools*, pp. 9, 10; James Phelan, *History of Tennessee*, pp. 238, 239.

among the learned professions, spoke of the insufficient number of properly prepared teachers, and urged the establishment and maintenance by the State of a seminary for the education of teachers in the methods of the monitorial system and in the elementary branches of instruction. He argued that this recommendation, if carried out, would have a most benign influence on individual happiness and social prosperity. He also recommended that provision be made for the gratuitous education, in the superior seminaries of the State, of indigent, talented, and meritorious youths. Unfortunately Governor Clinton's views proved to be in advance of public sentiment, and for the time no practical steps were taken to carry them out. The governors of many other States also urged the subject of education upon the State legislatures.

With the opening of the present century foreign influence on American education became more pronounced, and also assumed a new character. French influence, which had been exclusive since close affiliations with France were established in the days of the Revolutionary war, now waned to the vanishing point. In fact, it had never extended to elementary instruction. As French influence fell off, first English influence and then German began to be felt. The great educational revival of the early part of this century touched with more or less power all the progressive countries of the world.

First to be mentioned is the effort to popularize instruction set in motion by Dr. Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster, which for a time promised to

overspread all civilized countries. These two distinguished educationists differed on minor points, but they agreed on the one feature that gave the movement its most significant names, viz., mutual and monitorial instruction. By means of monitors they expected to cheapen and so to popularize elementary teaching. Bell was a Churchman and Tory, Lancaster a Dissenter and Liberal; and these facts, together with strong differences of character and spirit, outside of Church and Tory circles tended to associate the name of Lancaster with the system much more closely than that of his rival.

The system was not long in crossing the ocean. A representative of the Public School Society of New York City visited Lancaster's school in the Borough Road, London, in 1805, and his favorable report led to the opening of a school on the new plan in New York in 1809, the first of its kind in America. The idea spread, and for many years teaching by monitors was the vogue in large schools in the older parts of the country. Still it does not appear to have taken such deep root in New England as in the Middle States, no doubt because other methods of instruction were there more firmly rooted. In 1818 the New York Society, preparatory to widening its work, brought over a teacher from London. Lancaster himself soon followed, and at once began to lecture on his system in the Eastern cities. A prominent feature of the system was model schools and normal colleges for the preparation of teachers, and Lancaster served for some years as Principal of the Model School at Philadelphia. He was received with

the greatest enthusiasm. Statesmen vied with teachers in extolling him and his supposed invention. But Lancaster's career in America was as brief as it had previously been in England. The downfall of mutual instruction was as complete as its rise had been rapid and brilliant. At this distance it is not easy to explain its brief popularity. In principle it involved nothing that was really new. For centuries educators had resorted to monitors as a makeshift, and discerning men should have seen that more than a makeshift they could never be. The vogue of the system was due to the invincible faith of men in machinery, combined with the promise of cheapness in education. But in this instance men soon discovered, what mental science and educational experience both teach, that good education can neither be mechanized nor be made cheap.¹ Still, in America and in England alike, this short-lived system left behind it lasting results. In both countries it awakened great interest in the cause of popular education. In both it turned the attention of men to the necessity of properly preparing teachers for their work. But in America, most fortunately, it did not leave behind it the sys-

¹ Lancaster visited also South America and Canada—the first on the invitation of General Bolívar. Returning to the United States, he strove in vain to reanimate his system. It was practically extinct before his own death, which occurred in New York in 1823. On Lancaster in the United States, see the following writers: S. S. Randall, *History of the Common School System of the State of New York*, New York and Chicago, 1871; J. P. Wickersham, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1886; W. O. Bourne *History of the Public School Society of the City of New York*, New York, 1870; T. B. Stockwell, *Public Education in Rhode Island*, Providence, 1876.

tem of pupil-teaching, which has been such a drag on educational progress in the Mother Country.

But it is Germany that, in this century, has exerted upon our country the most protracted, the deepest, and the most salutary educational influence. The limits imposed by this chapter will permit but the merest glance at its origin and early progress; on a future page a single phase of the subject will receive fuller consideration.

The introduction of Pestalozzian ideas and methods to the American people was the work of Mr. Maclure, a Scotchman, who had made his home in Philadelphia. While carrying on his geological studies in Switzerland, he formed the acquaintance of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, and became greatly interested in their schools. In June, 1806, a communication from his pen, explaining Pestalozzi's system, appeared in *The National Intelligencer*, Washington, District of Columbia. Later issues of the same journal contained still fuller expositions of the system, based on Chavannes' treatise, published in Paris in 1805. Mr. Maclure induced Mr. Joseph Neef, who was especially recommended by Pestalozzi, to come to Philadelphia and open a school at the Falls of the Schuylkill. But, owing to his failure to adapt himself to the changed conditions, Mr. Neef's undertaking did not prove to be permanently successful. The two small books that he brought out in 1808 and 1813 were probably the first Pestalozzian books published in the United States.¹ Mr. Neef's sympathy with the

¹ The title-page of the well-worn copy of the first of these books lying before me reads as follows: *Sketch of a Plan and Method of*

spirit of his master is well shown by his remark, that to teach a country school was his highest ambition.

In 1818, 1819 Professor John Griscom, of New York City, made a careful study of the schools, colleges, and charitable institutions of Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Holland, and on his return home embodied the fruits of his investigations in a work of two volumes, to which he gave the name, *A Year in Europe*.¹ "No one volume in the first half of the nineteenth century," says Dr. Barnard, "had so wide an influence on the development of our educational, reformatory, and preventive measures, directly and indirectly, as this." Ex-President Jefferson pronounced the view that the book gave of the literary and public institutions of the countries that the author visited the best that he had ever read. He said he found in it useful hints for the University of Virginia, which he was then engaged in establishing.

Education, founded on an Analysis of the Human Faculties and Natural Reason, suitable for the Offspring of a Free People and for all Rational Beings. By Joseph Neef, formerly a coadjutor of Pestalozzi at his school near Berne, Switzerland. Philadelphia: Printed for the author, pp. 168. The title of the second work was *Method of Teaching Children to read and write. The Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. XLV. (1894), pp. 373-375, contains a brief but interesting sketch of Joseph Neef. His school at Schnylikill Falls was established in 1809. Here he is said to have had about one hundred pupils, who were taught physiology, botany, geology, natural history, languages, mathematics, and other branches, without the aid of a single text-book, a purely natural method being followed. In 1813 he taught a school at Village Green, Delaware County, Pennsylvania. In 1826 Mr. Neef assumed charge of the educational department of New Harmony, Indiana, — Robert Owen's communitistic experiment. Afterwards he lived at Cincinnati and Steubenville, Ohio, and died at New Harmony in 1853.

¹ The second edition appeared in New York in 1824.

Griscom also paid due heed to the work of the great Swiss reformer.¹

M. Guizot propounds the thesis that the ideas and institutions born in other countries than France that have benefited the common stock of European civilization, have all been obliged to pass through France as a condition of their general acceptance.² If living, the distinguished doctrinaire would perhaps find confirmation of his view in the fact that intellectual Germany was first laid open to the world by French writers.

In 1813 John Murray, of London, published an English translation of Madame de Staël's *Germany*; the first French edition had previously been destroyed by order of Napoleon. It would not be easy at this distance to measure the immediate influence of this book upon the American mind; suffice it to say, the disclosure that it made of the schools, and particularly of the universities, of Germany was the principal cause that sent George Ticknor to the University of Göttingen to study in 1815.³ How it was with his distinguished compeers, George Bancroft and Edward

¹ For a fuller history of the subject, see the following: N. A. Calkins, "The History of Object Teaching," *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, Vol. XII., p. 633; Henry Barnard, "Pestalozzianism in the United States," *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. XXX., p. 561; John H. Griscom, *Memoirs of John Griscom, LL.D., etc., compiled from an Autobiography and Other Sources*. New York, 1885, pp. 230-246. In 1832 George Ripley wrote an article in *The Christian Examiner* on Pestalozzi, laying stress on the moral elements of his system. Dr. Frothingham says Pestalozzi's experiment at Neuhof may have been an incentive to Brook Farm. — *George Ripley*, pp. 94, 95.

² *History of Civilization*, Lect. I.

³ *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, Chaps. I., II.

Everett, we are not informed. But however that may have been, it was in the person of these distinguished students and scholars that the direct contact between American education and the German universities, which has proved to be so quickening and constant, was first established. The influence of Ticknor, Bancroft, and Everett, and the great army of American students that followed them to the German universities, no man who understands it would attempt to estimate. First, this influence touched the institutions of higher learning, but in the end it reached the lower levels of instruction with equal power, especially when re-enforced by the writings of other Americans who went to Germany to study the subject of public education.

It was in 1831 that M. Victor Cousin, by direction of the French Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs, visited Prussia and made his celebrated Report on the State of Public Instruction in that kingdom. This Report proved to be one of the most quickening educational documents ever written.¹ Sir William Hamilton made it the subject of a notable contribution to *The Edinburgh Review* in 1834, and Mrs. Sarah Austin, the translator of so many French and German books, made a translation of it that was

¹ Cousin had previously visited Saxony, Weimar, and the city of Frankfort on a similar errand. His several communications to the French minister together constituted the original French edition of his Report. Mrs. Austin confined her translation to the Report on Prussia, partly, she said, because she wished to make a small and cheap volume, and partly because this Report was confined to elementary instruction. She wished to hold the attention of her countrymen exclusively to that subject.

published in London the following year. Moreover, Mrs. Austin's translation was published in New York in 1835, Mr. J. Orville Taylor, a distinguished educationist of the day, furnishing an original preface devoted to observations on the existing state of education in the United States.¹

In 1836 the trustees of Girard College for Orphans, preparatory to organizing that institution, sent their newly elected President, Alexander D. Bache, to Europe, to visit and report on the similar educational establishments of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, and the States of Germany. Bache's elaborate Report, which appeared in 1839, included a comprehensive view of primary and elementary schools in several of the countries that he visited, including Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, and exerted no little influence on educational development.²

A much more influential document, partly because it was small and inexpensive, was Professor C. E. Stowe's *Report on Elementary Instruction in Europe, made to the Thirty-sixth General Assembly of the State of Ohio*. Stowe received his commission from the Governor of the State, as he was on the point of embark-

¹ *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia, addressed to the Count de Montalivet, Peer of France, Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs. By M. Victor Cousin, Peer of France, Councillor of State, Professor of Philosophy, Member of the Institute and of the Royal Council of Public Instruction. With plans of schoolhouses. Translated by Sarah Austin. New York: Wiley and Long, 1835.*

² *Report on Education in Europe to the Trustees of the Girard College for Orphans. Philadelphia: Printed by Lydia B. Bailey, 1839, 26 N. Fifth Street.*

(ing for Europe in March, 1836, but his Report did not appear until 1839. It related to Great Britain, France, and other States, including those of Germany. Stowe drew attention, among other things, to the wonderful change which had taken place in the policy of monarchical governments in respect to the education of the people—a fact that had been strongly impressed upon his mind during the progress of his visit. He spoke at length of the internal arrangement and instruction of the Prussian schools, gave a catalogue of Prussian school laws, and answered various questions relating to moral and religious training. This Report was frequently republished and widely circulated and read. Nor was this all; Mr. Stowe, who was then a professor in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, was for several years a frequent speaker on the educational platform, and generally on German aspects of the subject.

(From the beginning of the Revival, teachers and other educators have sought strength and mutual improvement in association and co-operation. It is said that a teacher's association was in existence in the city of New York as early as 1798, holding its weekly meetings on Saturday evening at Federal Hall. But our indefatigable historian, Dr. Henry Barnard, found no such organization back of the Middlesex County Association for the Improvement of Common Schools, formed at Middletown, Connecticut, in 1799.¹ This, and all such similar organizations as followed down to 1830, soon perished.

¹ Henry Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. II, p. 12, "The American Institute of Instruction."

The American Institute of Instruction, our oldest existing society of the kind, was formally organized in a convention of teachers, and others interested, that was held in Boston in August, 1830. The Institute was a development of the growing interest in education and schools, and appears to have had some special relation to the lyceum movement which was then active in New England. President Francis Wayland, of Brown University, delivered the introductory discourse, and was chosen the first president. The object of the Institute, the constitution declared to be the diffusion of useful knowledge in regard to education. Men alone were admitted to membership; but the constitution graciously said, ladies engaged in the business of instruction should be invited to hear the annual address, lectures, and reports of committees. It was first proposed to call the society The New England Association of Teachers; but owing to the wide representation, and the desire of others than teachers to become members, the more catholic name was adopted. This action, however, did not prevent the Institute from becoming, in the long run, what was first proposed, a New England association. From 1830 to 1897 the Institute has not failed to hold an annual meeting; the series of volumes of proceedings and papers that it has published, now nearly seventy in number, is by far the longest series of the kind known to our educational annals.

The most important Western movement of the time is associated with the city of Cincinnati. Here was established, in 1829, the Academic Institute, under the auspices of which the first General Convention of

Teachers of the Western Country was held in June, 1831. This convention soon grew into the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers, of which a somewhat full account will not be out of place.

The preamble to the constitution declares that the members are "deeply impressed with the importance of organizing their profession in the valley of the Mississippi by a permanent association in order to promote the sacred interests of education, so far as they may be confided to their care, by collecting the distant members, advancing their mutual improvement, and elevating the profession to its just intellectual and moral influence on the community;" while Article I. defines the object of the college to be, "to promote by every laudable means the diffusion of knowledge in regard to education, and especially by aiming at the elevation of the character of teachers who shall have adopted instruction as their regular profession."

The College of Professional Teachers drew to itself a numerous and influential membership. The able historian of early culture in the Ohio Valley may be quoted: "The far-reaching influence of the body is indicated by the fact that delegates came to its meetings from the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and the Territories of Iowa and Wisconsin. People crowded to its daily sessions, which were held in the largest churches, and listened to the essays and addresses with breathless attention

and semi-religious enthusiasm." The same writer says the College was the mother of the teachers' institute system in the West. The meetings of the College, which occurred in the month of October and continued a whole week, afforded ample opportunity for discussing education under all of its current aspects.

This College, so widely useful in its time, lived on till 1845, and then peacefully expired. Its dissolution has never been satisfactorily explained. In a few years the territory that it had embraced was more or less covered by smaller and less ambitious associations. The College had affiliated local organizations, and it promoted the holding of educational conventions in several of the Western States. Albert Pickett was the permanent president, and he is said to have originated the idea out of which the College grew.¹

The educators of the Revival were quick to lay hold of that great power of the new era — the Press. In 1818 Albert Pickett and John W. Pickett, father and

¹ The proceedings of the convention of 1831 were published in *The Academic Pioneer and Guardian of Education*. In 1834 regular Transactions began to appear, and were continued until six volumes had been published. In 1837, 1838 John W. Pickett brought out the single volume of *The Western Academician and Journal of Education and Science*, which contains the proceedings of the College of Teachers for the current year. The Picketts came from New York to Cincinnati, where they carried on a flourishing private school for girls. For secondary sources, see the following: W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, pp. 317, 420, 421, 425; W. T. Coggeshall, *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, Vol. VI., p. 85; E. D. Mansfield, *Memoirs of the Life and Services of Daniel Drake*, etc. Cincinnati, 1853, pp. 230-246, same, *Personal Memoirs, Social, Political, and Literary*, etc., 1803-1843. Cincinnati, 1849.

son, brought out in New York *The Academician*, the first American essay in educational journalism—some say the first in the English language. Only a single volume appeared. The Latin quotations with which the pages are liberally sprinkled savor of the pedantry of the times; but for a first venture, *The Academician* was every way creditable to its conductors and to the country, and a worthy pioneer of the great army of educational journals that have followed it. One article is devoted to Fellenberg's school at Hofwyl; one to Pestalozzi's method of teaching children religion and morals; one to a comparison of Bell, Lancaster, and Pestalozzi; three are given to Lancaster, and, what is most significant, seven to Pestalozzi. The writer of the last-named series, who signs himself a native of Clinton County, says he has in his possession one work in French, one in Spanish, and more than thirty in German that deal with the subject. His articles, however, dwell far more upon the mechanics of the system than its genius.

In 1826 there appeared at Boston, under the editorship of Mr. William Russell, the first number of *The American Journal of Education*, the leading objects of which were to furnish a record of facts regarding the past and present state of education in the United States and foreign countries; to aid in diffusing enlarged and liberal ideas of education; to forward the education of the female sex, but chiefly to promote elementary education. At first *The Journal* appeared in monthly numbers of sixty-four pages each, but afterwards the size was enlarged, and the interval between the numbers lengthened. In all five volumes

appeared. *The Journal* was immediately succeeded by *The American Annals of Education and Instruction*, edited by William C. Woodbridge, of which nine volumes were published, also at Boston. In his opening address the editor estimated that a thousand new schools with a thousand new teachers were required to keep things as they were, to say nothing of improvements. Mr. Woodbridge's preparation for his work embraced a collection of materials derived from personal observation at foreign institutions, and personal interviews with some of the most distinguished foreign educators; collections of the recent valuable books on education, and a series of foreign periodicals devoted to it, and the correspondence of many friends abroad. Both of these journals devoted much space to foreign educators, particularly Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, and they are to-day valuable sources of contemporary educational thought and intelligence.

One group of forerunners that are not ordinarily put in the educational succession at all, remains to be mentioned. Illustrating the influence of science and invention upon opinion, Mr. Lecky says, "It is impossible to lay down a railway without creating an intellectual influence." The same may be said of education. Discoverers and inventors call into being new needs, create new ideals, furnish new teaching material, compel the invention of new methods and systems. Whitney with his cotton-gin, Cartwright and Arkwright with their weaving and spinning machines, Watt with his steam-engine, Fulton with his steamboat, Stephenson with his locomotive, Morse with his telegraph, have exerted an educational influ-

ence that is incalculable. For one thing they have made the urban population of to-day possible. In 1790 the United States contained six cities of eight thousand inhabitants and upwards; in 1810 the number had increased to eleven; in 1830 it was twenty-six; ten years later, forty-four; and in 1890 it had become four hundred and forty-eight. In 1790 the urban population was one in thirty of the total population; in 1840 one in twelve; in 1890 nearly one in three. Accordingly, down to the opening of the Revival, common school education in the United States had been carried on under rural conditions, and the typical school was the rural school. Moreover, it was in Massachusetts that the new forces of civilization had declared themselves with greatest power; in 1840 her population was the most distinctly urban of any State in the Union, save perhaps Rhode Island. Horace Mann appeared on the scene just at this interesting juncture—when new material and social conditions made it possible to give elementary education a new shaping. He stands in history as the representative of the urban school.¹

It must not be supposed that the educational revival with which we are dealing was a single or unrelated phenomenon in respect to time, country, or other social interests. History is continuous and cannot be cut up into arbitrary periods; still education assumed such prominence early in this century, in all the most progressive countries, that we may justly

¹ "Horace Mann," an address by Dr. W. T. Harris, in *Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association*, 1896, pp. 52-63.

speak of it as an educational era or epoch. The United States, Germany, France, England, all shared in it. Besides, it was only one of many parallel movements that were going on at the same time, and that were all marked by a certain unity of nature and causation.

It is common to characterize the present century from an intellectual point of view: it is marked by a prodigious growth of knowledge. Still there is reason to think that the new birth of feeling is even more remarkable than the new birth of intellect. Speaking of the time when this history opened, Mr. John Morley has very justly said:

"It was the day of ideals in every camp. The general restlessness was as intense among reflecting Conservatives as among reflecting Liberals; and those who looked to the past agreed with those who looked to the future in energetic dissatisfaction with a sterile present. We need only look around to recognize the unity of the original impulse which animated men who dreaded or hated one another, and inspired books that were as far apart as a humoristic novel and a treatise on the Sacraments. A great wave of humanity, of benevolence, of desire for improvement, — a great wave of social sentiment, in short, — poured itself among all who had the faculty of large and disinterested thinking. The political spirit was abroad in its most comprehensive sense, the desire of strengthening society by adapting it to better intellectual ideals and enriching it from new resources of moral power."¹

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Mr. Morley illustrates his remarks by referring to

¹ *The Life of Richard Cobden*. Boston, 1881, p. 61.

the various divergent movements in society with which the names of Dr. Pusey, Dr. Newman, John Stuart Mill, Dr. Thomas Arnold, Rev. F. D. Maurice, Thomas Carlyle and Charles Dickens, John Bright and Richard Cobden, are associated. His illustrations are all drawn from English life; but in other countries the disquiet of the time was also marked, and was directed to a quarter equally unmistakable. In the United States it was the era of abolitionism, non-resistance, transcendentalism, comeouterism, Brook Farm, Fourierite phalanxes, and last, but by no means least, of the revival of popular education. Mr. Emerson, speaking for Boston and the neighborhood, said: "We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform; not a leading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket." It is distinctly to be observed that, much as these movements may have differed in the objects to which they were directed, they were all outcroppings of the general awakening of moral sentiment. Dr. Frothingham is particular to remark that the Transcendental Club and the Massachusetts Board of Education originated at about the same time.¹ The two organizations had no formal connection; for the most part, they were the work of different persons, but they both came out of the yeasty condition of the times. Before the middle of this century was reached, the enthusiasm of 'humanity was beginning to shake the world as never before.

¹ *George Ripley. Boston, 1882, p. 55.*

CHAPTER III

HORACE MANN'S SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

THE great educational work that Mr. Mann accomplished was so completely an outgrowth of his personal history and character, that it is necessary to give a fuller account of his education, and of the man himself when he entered upon that work, than would otherwise be required.

Horace Mann was born in the town of Franklin, Norfolk County, Massachusetts, May 4, 1796. He was the sixth in descent from William Mann, who came to Massachusetts Bay in the seventeenth century. Samuel Mann, son of William, graduated at Harvard College in 1665, and afterward preached and taught in the ancient towns of Dedham and Wrentham. His descendants belonged to the plain people of the Commonwealth. This description applies to Thomas Mann, father of Horace, who cultivated a small farm as a means of livelihood. He was a man of feeble health, and died of consumption when his distinguished son was but thirteen years of age. He left in his family a strong impression of intellectual and moral worth, which, with the training that he gave them in the home and in the district school, was his principal legacy to his children. Horace's mother, whose maiden name was Stanley, was a

woman of superior intellect, if not of education, intuitive rather than logical in her mental habit, possessed of rare force of character, and thoroughly devoted to her children. If she did not contribute much to their didactic instruction, she did what was more valuable—start them on right lines of development. Horace continued to live with her on the farm until he was sixteen years of age. The town of Franklin stood second among the towns of the vicinity for intelligence, morality, and worth, and the Manns had a good standing in the town. Thomas Mann possessed more than ordinary talents, intelligence, and moral worth; he neither did or spoke evil, and if his children pitied and relieved the oppressed, and devoted themselves to love and good works, it was because they had profited by his instruction and example. One who was in a position to know¹ maintained that the source of every good work which Horace Mann did, in its causes, could be traced back to the parental home—his devotion to education, his pleading for the slave, his temperance principles and practice, and his sympathy with the wretched and miserable.

The Mann family regimen was marked by the sternness of the olden time, when the new spirit had not yet turned the heart of parents to the children, and the heart of children to the parents. Although the mother and son were devotedly attached to one another, there was still such a distance and reserve maintained between them that he never told her his

¹ An unpublished letter written by Miss Lydia B. Mann to Horace Mann.

physical sufferings until they revealed themselves to her, while his feelings he kept studiously to himself. Such severe repression was the more trying to him because he was of a sensitive nature, demonstrative, and full of spirit, and, while maintaining the reserve that always marks the self-respecting soul, was yet disposed to seek close communion with congenial minds. But that old discipline could not have been as cold and heartless as it sometimes seems. In the present case this is fully proved by the manner in which Mr. Mann, in later life, spoke of his mother's deep influence upon him. For himself he could truly say that the strongest and most abiding incentives to excellence by which he was ever animated sprang from that look of solicitude and hope, that heavenly expression of maternal tenderness, when, without the utterance of a single word, his mother looked into his face and silently told him that his life was freighted with a twofold being, for it bore her destiny as well as his own.

The straitened circumstances of the family, as well as the demands of the old discipline itself, commended the boy to the rugged nursing of Toil. She nursed him too much, he tells us. In the winter he was kept at indoor sedentary occupations that confined him too closely, while the summer labor of the farm was too severe for his strength, and often encroached upon the hours of sleep. He could never remember when he began to work. Play-days he never had, and play-hours were earned by extra efforts. When he came to write, in a letter to a friend, the story of his early life, he found in his experience

one compensation; industry or diligence became his second nature, and he thought it would puzzle any psychologist to tell where it was joined on to the first one. Work became to him what water is to the fish. In adult life he wondered a thousand times to hear people say, "I don't like this business," "I wish I could exchange it for that"; for no matter what he had to do, he never demurred, but set about it like a fatalist, and it was as sure to be done as the sun was to rise. It was in this severe discipline that he formed the habits of industry and application which carried him through the great labors of later years.

Mr. Mann's early education, so called, was such as Massachusetts gave her sons a century ago. His picture of the school that he attended may well be reproduced in its essential features, because he drew it, because he was a part of it, and because it represents in some measure the state of things that he gave the best work of his life to reform. What was called love of knowledge was cramped into a love of books; there was no oral instruction in the school. Books designed for children were few in number, and their contents were meagre and miserable; his teachers were good people, but bad teachers. The memory was the only mental faculty especially appealed to; the most comprehensive generalizations were given to the children instead of the facts upon which they were based; all ideas that did not come from the book were contraband, to be confiscated or thrown overboard by the teacher; with the infinite universe all around the children, ready to be daguerreotyped

upon their souls, they were never placed at the right focus to receive its glorious images.

No doubt this description is literally true, but it may prove to be very misleading. The child, knowledge, and the teacher are the three estates of the educational realm; the child knows, knowledge is known, and the teacher brings the two into proper relations. But the three estates are not of equal or constant value. Nothing could repress young Mann's love of knowledge. Her inward voice raised its plaint forever in his heart; and if his parents could not give him knowledge, they intensified his love of it, because they always spoke of learning and learned men with reverence and enthusiasm. He was taught to take care of the few books that the family had, as if they were sacred things. The habit followed him; he never dog-eared books, or profanely scribbled on their title-pages, margins, or fly-leaves; and would have stuck a pin through his flesh as soon as through the pages of a book. Books were no doubt the more sacred to him because, when a child, he earned his own school books by braiding straw. To the same purpose is the story that, when he was very young, a young lady who had studied Latin came to the house; he looked upon her as a sort of goddess, and years after the idea that he could ever study Latin broke upon his mind with the wonder and bewilderment of a revelation. Mann never mentions the studies that he pursued in school, but they were merely the limited course of the time. With all the rest, until he reached the age of sixteen, he had never been to school more than eight or ten weeks in a year.

One of Mr. Mann's bitterest complaints in after life was that, as a child, he had never enjoyed the free intercourse with Nature that his ardent mind craved. Speaking of himself and the children with whom he mingled, he says that, although their faculties were growing and receptive, they were taught very little; on the other hand, much obstruction was thrown between them and Nature's teachings. Their eyes were never trained to distinguish forms and colors. Their ears were strangers to music. So far from being taught the art of drawing, he well remembered that, when the impulse to express in pictures what he could not express in words was so strong that it tingled down to his fingers, then his knuckles were rapped with the teacher's heavy ruler, or cut with his rod, so that an artificial tingling soon drove away the natural one. He thought an amateur poet, if not an artist, had been lost in him. While he had no doubt good cause for thinking as he did about these things, there is still reason to believe that he over-drew the picture. His parents and teachers plainly did nothing to lead him in the way of Nature's lessons and inspirations, but they could not sear his soul to the sweet if silent influences of Nature herself. As to color and form, what better lessons could he have desired than those that were spread before him in the course of the revolving New England year? He learned things or realities in real life, and not under the artificial tuition of the schools. He bears testimony to the truth himself. Often when a boy he would stop, like Akensides' hind, to gaze at the glorious sunset, or lie down on his back at night

on the earth to look at the heavens. He profited largely both by the scientific spirit and by the poetic inspiration that Nature breathes. His later fondness for science-teaching and Nature studies in the schools — in both of which respects he was a generation in advance of his time — could not have proceeded from a mind whose intense love of natural truth and beauty had been left wholly unsatisfied.

It was in admiration of the genius of their distinguished countryman that the people of Franklin gave their town at its incorporation the name it bore. They proposed to Dr. Franklin that they would build a steeple to their meeting-house, if he would give them a bell to hang in it. He characteristically advised them to spare themselves the expense of the steeple, and offered them a gift of books instead of a bell, since sense was preferable to sound. His proffer being accepted, he requested his friend, Dr. Richard Price, of London, to select a list of books to the value of £25, such as were most proper to inculcate the principles of sound religion and the best government. They should be such books as would make a suitable beginning of a little parochial library for the use of a society of intelligent, respectable farmers. Dr. Price complied with this request, and in due time the books reached their destination. This little library was one of Mann's schools. According to his report, it consisted mainly of old histories and theologies well suited, perhaps, to the conscript fathers, but ill suited to the postscript children. Still, he wasted his youthful ardor upon its martial pages and learned to glory in war — a lesson that he afterwards unlearned so

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effectually that he counted war almost a crime. This library, no doubt, was the germ of his later thought, that, had he the power, he would scatter libraries over the land as the farmer sows his wheat field with seed—a thought that was largely realized in the school libraries which we shall have occasion to consider hereafter.¹

The last of Mr. Mann's youthful schools to be mentioned is the parish church. Dr. Nathaniel Emmons, celebrated in New England annals, not only preached to the Franklin flock, but ruled it also for more than fifty years. (The old New England family regimen and church regimen were cast in the same mould. Obedience, fortitude, rectitude, faith, and authority were cultivated rather than the gentler virtues. A stern logician, as well as a hyper-Calvinist, Dr. Emmons expounded the orthodox doctrines of sin and grace, dwelling more, says Mr. Mann, upon the sin than upon the grace.) (He reports that the veteran theologian expounded all the severe doctrines of the creed unflinchingly, while he rarely descanted upon the joys of heaven, and never upon the essential and necessary happiness of a virtuous life. \ The fact is the Doctor did not believe any such thing, at least in Mr. Mann's sense of the language. Church-going was an ordinance in the Mann family, and by the time that he was ten years old Horace had learned the whole creed and the dia-

¹ Franklin's letter to Price and Price's reply are found in *The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin*. By John Bigelow, Vol. IX., pp. 89, 90, 121, 122. The library dates from 1785. When the books reached their destination from London, Dr. Emmons, the pastor, preached a sermon commemorating the gift, which was afterwards published and dedicated to the giver.

lectics by which it was maintained. Being at once realistic and imaginative in his turn of mind, he was strongly impressed by the teachings that he heard from the pulpit and made very unhappy. He suffered often on going to bed at night; the objects of the day and the faces of friends gave place to visions of the awful throne, the inexorable judge, and the hapless myriads among whom he often seemed to see those whom he loved best; and he wept and sobbed until Nature found that counterfeit repose in exhaustion whose genuine reality she should have found in freedom from care and the spontaneous happiness of childhood. When Horace was twelve years old a brother, to whom he was strongly attached, was drowned; and when at the funeral he listened to Dr. Emmons discoursing to the young people present on the danger of dying unconverted, and heard his mother groan, his soul rose up in rebellion, and there immediately ensued a crisis in his life. In manhood he remembered the day, the hour, the place, the circumstances, as though the event had occurred but a day before, when in an agony of desperation he broke the spell that had bound him and asserted his liberty. From that day he began to construct the theory of Christian ethics and doctrine respecting virtue and vice, rewards and penalties, time and eternity, God and His providence, which, with such modifications as advancing age and wider vision imparted, he retained to the close of his life. He came around again finally to a belief in the eternity of rewards and punishments as a fact necessarily resulting from the constitution of our nature, but he regarded the effects

of this belief upon conduct, character, and happiness as something very different from the belief which Dr. Emmons inculcated in his childhood. When at college, under the influence of the classic authors, he accepted the deism of Cicero. Ultimately he embraced Unitarianism as the best expression of his religious thought, feeling, and life. To him Christianity was rather a system of exalted ethics than an evangelical message or gospel; he built more upon Nature than upon Revelation; he held that the power of natural religion had scarcely begun to be understood or appreciated, and looked forward to a time when its light would be to that of revealed religion as the rising sun is to the day star that precedes it. While he wholly threw off the theological system under which he was reared, he continued to regard it with increasing aversion to the end of life, and complained bitterly that it had done his own nature irreparable harm. Not long before his death, he said if it did not succeed in making him that horrible thing, a Calvinist, it did deprive him of that filial love for God, that tenderness, that sweetness, that intimacy, which a child should feel towards a Father who combines all excellence. He saw Him to be so logically, intellectually, demonstratively; but when he would embrace Him and breathe out unspeakable love and adoration, then the grim old spectre would thrust itself before him again.

We are told that Horace Mann's childhood was an unhappy one; but the picture of his childhood, as drawn by himself, does not strike the reader who is familiar with the annals of New England as a new

or strange one. In its general features the picture is familiar enough. While sombre and, to a degree, depressing, the typical New England child-life was not without great compensations. It was rich in the rugged virtues that constitute the strength of character. The hard soil inured those that cultivated it to industry and frugality. The natural scenery and the prevalent theology gave to life a serious character. The firm family discipline inculcated authority and obedience, and fortified the will. The common schools put the tools of education into the pupil's hands, and showed him how to use them. The Latin schools, academies, and colleges opened the door that led to the higher learning. The civic life was a good political education. The preaching from the pulpit was a strong discipline of the logical faculties, and thoroughly subordinated the moral nature of the hearer to the conceptions of God and the higher law. Mann's own statement, that at ten years of age he already knew the dialectics by which Dr. Emmons maintained the creed, as well as the creed itself, speaks eloquently for the powerful intellectual stimulus that the old New England pastors brought to bear upon their congregations. The firm basis of conviction that they laid down, although conviction in ideas that we may deem repellent, was nevertheless almost always a ground-work for moral earnestness and often for burning moral enthusiasm. There was of course much repression of the feelings, and a woful poverty in the æsthetic elements of life. But when all is said, it would be a great undertaking to attempt to tell what New England owes, and the country owes,

to men who were trained in all essential respects like Horace Mann, and whose childhood was quite as unhappy as his own.

In his twentieth year young Mann fell in with a fine college preparatory teacher, and, having first obtained the reluctant consent of his guardian, he began at once to study for college. In six months he fitted himself for admission to the Sophomore class of Brown University, which he entered in September, 1816. It would, perhaps, be hard to say whether this achievement is the more striking testimony to the ability and zeal of master and pupil on the one hand, or to the low standard of the college on the other. There can, however, be no question that the ability and zeal of master and pupil were very great. The range of study during those six months embraced, besides Latin and Greek grammar, Corderius, Æsop's Fables, the Æneid, parts of the Georgics and Bucolics, Cicero's Select Orations, the Four Gospels and part of the Epistles in Greek, and parts of the *Græca Majora* and *Minora*. Mann soon took the first place in his own class and in the college. A college friend testifies to the excellence of his preparation, and to his great ability as a student. He translated the Greek and Roman authors with great facility, accuracy, and elegance; he excelled also in the mathematical and modern sciences, and showed unusual ability as a writer, debater, and orator. The Horace Mann tradition lived long in the college. On commencement day he took the highest honor, choosing as the subject of his oration, "The Gradual Advancement of the Human Species in Dignity and Happi-

ness." Another college theme that has come down to us suggests still more decisively the trend of his mind: "The Duty of Every American to Posterity." The long and painful religious conflict that he had passed through only strengthened the moral bent of his nature, which had been pronounced from the beginning. Speaking once of his youthful longing for education, he said he knew not how it was, but the motive of his longing was never power, wealth, or fame; it was rather an instinct that impelled him towards knowledge, as the instinct of migratory birds impels them northward in springtime. All his boyish air-castles had reference to doing something for mankind. The early precepts of benevolence inculcated by his parents flowed out in that direction, and he believed that knowledge was his needed instrument to accomplish his object.

Strangely enough, none of Mr. Mann's biographers give any account of his private studies after he left college. His works, however, show a good range of reading in those branches of literature and general knowledge that lie proximate to the life of an educated man who is actively engaged in professional and public business.

On his graduation in 1819 Mr. Mann entered a lawyer's office at Wrentham, to fit himself for the profession of the law. He was soon called back to the University, where he served as tutor in the Latin and Greek languages, and as librarian for two years. He won an excellent reputation as a teacher; he was marked by ability and thoroughness and the moral stimulus that he imparted to his pupils. He improved the

opportunity to review and extend his classical studies. At the same time he now came to the conclusion that the classics were far inferior to the modern sciences, both as information and as mental disciplines. The heathen mythology was the product of human imagination; Nature was the handiwork of God. His valuation of scientific studies was far in advance of the time, and he longed to pursue them farther, but was restrained by the meagre facilities for such work that were accessible, as well as by the necessity of hastening his preparation for his chosen profession.

On leaving Providence the second time, in 1821, Mr. Mann entered the celebrated law school conducted by Judge Gould, at Litchfield, Connecticut. Here he made a fine record for talents and attainments. One of his fellow-students at Litchfield says that he parted with Mann in the full conviction that he would become one of the great men of the time. His only drawback was lack of physical vigor, combined with a great development of the nervous system. This fellow-student also reports that Mann, at this period, was deeply interested in metaphysics, Brown being his favorite author. But in respect to this subject his mind was soon to take a new bend.

In 1823 Mr. Mann was admitted to the bar, and entered at once upon the practice of the law. He continued in the practice of this profession until he entered upon his educational career in 1837, a period of fourteen years. At first he made his residence at Dedham, but in 1833 he removed to Boston. At the bar he was so successful that he is said to have won

four out of every five contested cases in which he was engaged as counsel. This extraordinary success was due to two causes—the ability with which he prepared his cases and tried them, and the scrupulous care with which he undertook them. He made it an inflexible rule of his professional life never to undertake a cause that he did not believe to be right.

About the time that he established himself at Dedham, Mr. Mann began to take an active interest in public affairs. In 1824 he delivered a Fourth of July oration that attracted the attention of John Quincy Adams, who predicted a distinguished career for its author. In 1826 he delivered, also at Dedham, a eulogy on Adams and Jefferson that the same high authority characterized as “of splendid composition and lofty eloquence.” A man who acts upon Mann’s rule in respect to accepting cases at law as a counsel is not likely to take up public causes inconsiderately, but is likely to command a great measure of the public confidence. He was elected to the State House of Representatives in 1827, and was re-elected each year until he was transferred to the Senate in 1833. Here he served four years, the last two as President of the body. He was a laborious and influential member of the legislature. His first speech was in defence of religious liberty, which he thought was endangered by some measure that was pending. He also made one of the first speeches on railroads ever printed in the country. He took, however, slight interest in partisan politics, but a deep interest in the larger public questions,—charities, benevolent institutions, education, temperance, civil, political, and religious

liberty, and good morals. He was deeply interested in the welfare of the insane, and it was owing to his efforts that the Worcester Hospital for the insane, one of the early institutions of the kind in the country, was founded in the face of much indifference and some opposition and obloquy. He afterwards served as Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and took a most active interest in the administration of the institution. He was also influential in securing the new legislation concerning education that he was soon after called upon to administer. While in the legislature Mr. Mann assisted in carrying through a measure for revising the State laws, and he was afterward a member of the commission that made the revision.

Men are known by the company they keep, says the adage. While Mr. Mann highly prized intercourse with cultivated minds, he was not greatly attracted to men who had no deep interest in ameliorating the evils of society. He was ethical in everything. His heart went only where his head recognized benevolence. When Dr. Channing, Father Taylor of the Sailors' Bethel, George Combe, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, and Charles Sumner are named as among the foremost of his friends, more has been done to characterize him than a chapter of description or analysis could accomplish.

While at Brown University Mr. Mann became acquainted with the daughter of Dr. Messer, the president. She was then a child. All his ideas of excellence and all his hopes of future happiness became identified with her image, and after carrying her in his heart ten years he married her. He post-

poned his marriage until he had paid his college debts, acquired a small competence, and won a recognized position in his profession and in public life. The two years of happy married life that he passed with her were to him the first perfect proof of the goodness and benignity of God, and its sudden termination, for a time, seemed to furnish proof of just the opposite. Mr. Mann was given to the use of impassioned language, but perhaps he was never more impassioned than in speaking afterwards of this happy period, when for him there was a light upon the earth brighter than the light of the sun, and a voice sweeter than the harmonies of Nature. He thought that the happiness, which was boundless in present enjoyment, would be perpetual in duration. His life went out of itself. One after another the feelings that had been before fastened upon other objects loosened their strong grasp and went to dwell and rejoice in the sanctuary of her holy and beautiful nature. Ambition forgot the applause of the world for the more precious gratulation of that approving voice. Joy ceased its quests abroad, for at home there was an exhaustless fountain to slake its renewing thirst. There imagination built her palaces and garnered her choicest treasures. His wife ennobled his life, supplying new strength for toil and new motives for excellence. The sudden close of such a life as this plunged him into the deepest grief, and brought back again the thick clouds of the old spiritual conflict, which for a time threatened to darken the remainder of his days. She died suddenly while he was watching at night alone by her bedside, no per-

son within call. The terrors of that dreadful night spent alone with the dead, where he was found nearly insensible in the morning, revisited him with fearful power for many years at each recurring anniversary, and were never wholly dispelled.

It was the sad event just narrated that led to the removal from Dedham to Boston. Friends who loved Horace Mann, and feared that he would be practically lost to the world if left to himself, intervened to effect this removal, hoping thus to break up in part old associations, to surround him with new scenes and objects of interest, and to re-energize him for continued usefulness. The new experiment was only partially successful. Misfortune continued to follow him. In lending assistance to a brother, he had become financially involved to such a degree that the brother's failure not only swept away the hard-earned accumulations of his professional life, but even compelled him to undergo positive privation. In boyhood, he relates, the habit of depending upon himself for the gratification of all his wants became so fixed that, to the end of his life, a pecuniary favor was a painful burden to be eased only by a full requital. This old habit, as well as his moral sense, would not permit the withholding of anything that was necessary to satisfy the obligations that he had assumed. With all the rest, the death of dear friends, as of his mother and Dr. Messer, followed and deepened his grief. But by degrees, owing largely to the ministrations of kind friends, he was won back to usefulness and happiness. When he returned to the world, we read in *The Life*, it was rather as a spectator than

to writing, and particularly to lecturing on his favorite subjects. Mr. Mann became his interested auditor, firm disciple, and devoted friend. The correspondence between the two men that began in America continued, with some slackening towards the end, until closed by the Scotch philosopher's death. All things considered, the most interesting series of letters that Mrs. Mann has inserted in *The Life* are her husband's letters to Combe. Combe wrote of Mann: "He is a delightful companion and friend, and among all the excellent men whom we met in Boston, none entwined themselves more deeply and closely with our affections than Horace Mann." Late in life Mr. Mann wrote to Combe: "There is no man of whom I think so often; there is no man of whom I write so often; there is no man who has done me so much good as you have. I see many of the most valuable truths as I never should have seen them but for you, and all truths better than I should otherwise have done.") Personal qualities aside, what interested Mann most in Combe was the philosophy of human nature and human development that he found in his writings, lectures, and conversation; and what interested Combe most in Mann was the practical experiment that Mann was making to carry out some of his own favorite educational ideas. Mann avowed the opinion that George Combe would work a revolution in mental science equal to that which Lord Bacon had worked in natural science. Still he did not follow his master to all lengths. Essentially prosaic and destitute of imagination, although gifted with great logical powers, Combe could believe in nothing that

he did not see and understand; while Mann, on the other hand, with his mental endowment, was able to transcend the empirical sphere and believe firmly in a future life of endless progress. The two men always found an inseparable bond in their common belief in the improbability of the race.

The acknowledged ability of the early phrenologists, the high character of many of their adherents, and the undeniable fact that they had laid hold of some important truths have not prevented the so-called science from falling into universal contempt. In the minds of students it means unscientific method and false results; in the common mind it is associated with the quackery of the showman; while it has no place whatever in the history of thought as conceived and written by orthodox writers on the history of philosophy. In fact, phrenology long ago fell into such complete discredit that the man who mentions it to-day expects to see on the faces of his auditors either a smile or a blank stare. It is now difficult even to create in imagination the state of mind that led many able men, both in Europe and America, to look confidently to phrenology as the harbinger of great mental and moral ameliorations—to find in the *Constitution of Man* a manual of universal training and cultivation; in a word, a sort of Bible. To recreate that state of mind is far from the present purpose. Still Mr. Mann's enthusiastic adhesion to the quasi-science, and its extraordinary influence upon his mind and work, compel a brief view of the subject.

(As a science phrenology was built on two fundamental ideas. One is the idea that the faculties of

the human mind can be localized in the human brain. The other is the idea that the localization of these faculties can be effected by observing the protuberances of the human skull. The phrenologists differed in many points, but in these two they all agreed. The first idea is now fully accepted by all accredited authorities; the second is just as thoroughly rejected. But this was not the only fatal mistake that Gall and his followers committed. They formed wrong ideas of what mental faculties are, conceiving them as things or forces, rather than as modes or forms in which the one energy that we call the mind asserts or manifests itself. Another fatal mistake was the defective observation and analysis that led to the elaborate but crude and even fantastical scheme or chart of "faculties" that they made out. And, thirdly, they were largely discredited by their false localizations. The portions of the brain lying under the labels that the phrenologists pasted on the human skull do not, in general, correspond with the functions that the labels name. Surely, such blunders as these are sufficient to discredit any scheme of philosophy, and especially a new one.

But the breakdown of phrenology as a science should not blind us to the fact that its cultivators started with a sound postulate, and that their general method was right. Their postulate was the doctrine of localization; their method, observation and experiment. They were the experimental psychologists of their time. If they had cultivated interior as well as external observation, they might have been saved from some of their great blunders, but they broke

wholly with the introspective tradition, and, it can hardly be doubted, gave the objective method of mental study a considerable impulse.) They did stimulate a certain kind of mental observation and create much independent study of human nature. What is more, if little can be told about a man by feeling of his "bumps," something can be told by studying the size and form of his head, his face, manner, and temperament—to which last the phrenologists attached great importance.

The phrenologists built upon the basis of their science an extensive system of education.) Combe, in fact, regarded his best known book only as an introduction to an educational treatise. This system embraced the whole human being—his physical, mental, and moral nature. (Some of the favorite ideas of the phrenologists were these: The body must receive careful attention as well as the soul; physical health is essential to efficiency, usefulness, happiness; food and clothing are moral factors as well as books, studies, schools, and sermons; man must be considered in his environment, and not merely in himself.) In fact, the full title of Combe's best known book is *The Constitution of Man Considered in Relation to External Objects*. (The fundamental postulate in this educational system was that man is governed by definite laws, and that wisdom consists in observing them.) "The laws God has impressed on man," says Combe, "are the keys to the right understanding of His rule." No doubt "observing the laws" often became mere cant in the mouths of phrenologists; but the conception of law

as dominating the human world, at the opening of this century, greatly needed to be preached. Another most important principle was that the faculties, and so the whole mind, can be developed through appropriate exercise or activity. The tendency was strong to individualize the constituent elements of character as they were understood, and so to effect the application of stimulus or its withdrawal as might be thought necessary. If the doctrine of environment tended to make man the creature of circumstances, the doctrine of growth through activity tended to put his mind and character, so to speak, in his own hands, and thus to give education a powerful impulse. Possibly the phrenologists conceived the law of activity more mechanically than Fröbel and Herbart, but they certainly put upon it an equal stress.¹

But the phrenologists did much more than to encourage education. Holding law to be universal, as they did, they strove to free teaching from its empiricism and to render it scientific. They said education should be practical. They emphasized the sciences among studies, and particularly physiology and the sciences of the mind. They entered most enthusiastically into practical educational work, both in England and in America. The fact seems to be little known, but it is a fact that George Combe

¹ We have the authority of Charles Gibbon, *The Life of George Combe*, London, 1878, Vol. II., p. 9, for the statement that Combe was offered the Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Michigan. Some of the prominent adherents of phrenology in the United States, beside Mann, were Dr. S. G. Howe, George B. Emerson, and Cyrus Pierce, all distinguished educators.

was almost as active in the cause of popular education in England as Horace Mann was in the United States.¹

The reader must not suppose that these paragraphs are an attempt to rehabilitate the phrenologists. The aim is merely to discover and, if possible, to explain why they attracted Mr. Mann, and whether, and in what way, they influenced educational progress. And there can be little question that in a day when mental science was to a great degree abstract and barren; when the doctrine of individualism and the current theory of the government of the world excluded the conception of universal law from the minds of most men; when opinion was chaotic, and practice empirical, and when education was deeply marked by the characteristics of the time — the phrenologists did set before men certain definite educational ends, and did point them to a method that they promised would lead to those ends. In other words, phrenology gave her devotees, as they thought, an insight into human nature, a vision of human perfectibility, and a practical work to be accomplished. Undoubtedly, in its day, phrenology energized for the work of life some very influential men who would never have been energized, or at least not fully so, by the old metaphysics

¹ George Combe was one of the most tireless writers on education of his time. He produced no great work that is distinctly educational, but dealt with many phases of the subject in numerous publications. Mr. William Jelly, H.M. Inspector of Schools, collected and edited his educational writings, in a work that bears the following title. *Education, Its Principles and Practices, as Developed by George Combe, Author of the "Constitution of Man."* London: Macmillan & Co., 1879, 8vo., pp. 772.

or the old theology.¹ In a sense, the impression that phrenology made on men's minds may be likened to that created on its first appearance by the Sensational philosophy. But there was a great difference.

Whatever may be the value of the foregoing speculations, Mr. Mann accepted at the hands of Gall and his disciples his whole philosophy of human nature. He built all his theories of intellectual and moral improvement upon the ideas with which they furnished him. Their teachings strongly reinforced his belief in the improvability of men, thus making him still more optimistic. His aim, as a practical reformer, became more definite and certain under their

¹ After remarking that no teacher of the day was so inspiring to Richard Cobden as George Combe, Mr. Morley declares that few emphatically second-rate men have done better work. "That memorable book [*The Constitution of Man*]," he says, "whose principles have now, in some shape or other, become the accepted commonplaces of all rational persons, was a startling revelation when it was first published in 1828, showing men that their bodily systems are related to the rest of the universe, and are subject to general and inexorable conditions; that health of mind and character are connected with states of body; that the old ignorant or ascetical disregard of the body is hostile both to happiness and mental power, and that health is a true department of morality. We cannot wonder that zealous men were found to bequeath fortunes for the dissemination of that wholesome gospel; that it was circulated by scores of thousands of copies, and that it was seen on shelves where there was nothing else save the Bible and Pilgrim's Progress." "To show, as Combe showed," Mr. Morley continues, "that the character and motives of men are connected with physical predispositions, was to bring character and motive within the sphere of action, because we may, in that case, modify them by attending to the requirements of the bodily organization. A boundless field is thus opened for the influence of social institutions, and the opportunities of beneficence are without limit."—*Life of Richard Cobden*. Boston, 1881, pp. 64, 65.

influence. He sometimes wrote his letters in their jargon. He even believed that it was his "causality" which saved him from utter wreck in the two great crises of his life, viz., those growing out of his early theological training and of his great bereavement. Phrenology doubtless led him, as in the Sixth Report, to overvalue the study of physiology and to commit other blunders. Still it is difficult for one who looks over the whole ground to resist the conviction that the measure of truth found in the *pseudo-science* did much more to fit him for his great educational work than his earlier readings of Brown and the other metaphysicians.

This sketch of Horace Mann's life, from his birth to the age of forty-one, and of his mental and moral character, completes the general introduction to the present work. The sketch serves the additional purpose of showing that he was admirably equipped for this work, so far as equipment could be determined without actual trial and testing. Apart from his natural abilities he had been reared on a Massachusetts farm, and was thus familiar with the brief and simple annals of the poor. He had achieved, by dint of great exertion, a good college education, and had some practice in the teaching art. He had gained the knowledge and the discipline that the study and the practice of the law confers upon the student and practitioner. He had had ten years of active experience in public life, and was in sympathy with all the better public movements of the time. He was the master of a copious eloquence, with both tongue and pen, which sometimes tended to the verbose and

heavy, but again was nervous and shot through with vivid imagination and impassioned feeling. His cast of character was distinctly ethical. (The master forces of his life may be thus presented: Faith in God as infinitely wise, true, and good; Faith in men as indefinitely improvable, both in the life that now is and in the life that is to come; Faith in knowledge and teaching as conducing directly and powerfully to man's improvability; Faith in his own duty to glorify God by ministering to the improvability of men.) Language could hardly exaggerate the intensity of his belief in every one of these articles of faith. Save in a single particular, this creed, if creed it may be called, will not be made the subject of criticism in this place. It would not be difficult to show that Mr. Mann, like all men of his habit of mind, overestimated the efficacy of knowledge and teaching, and so of schools and education, as leading to the amelioration of man's estate.¹ He no doubt failed to appreciate how much still remains to be done when a man has been taught the way of life more perfectly:

¹ Rev. E. E. Hale has some interesting remarks concerning certain ideas that were afloat in his boyhood. "It will be hard," he says, "to make boys and girls of the present day understand how much was then expected from reforms in education." He mentions Dr. Channing, the Swiss Reformers, the Round Hill School, Lord Brougham and his "march of intellect," the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, etc. "In America," he says, "the reign of lyceums and mechanics' institutes had begun. Briefly, there was the real impression that the Kingdom of Heaven was to be brought in by teaching people what were the relations of acids to alkalis, and what was the derivation of the word 'cordwainer.' If we only knew enough, it was thought we should be wise enough to keep out of the fire and should not be burned."—*A New England Boyhood*, pp. 25, 26.

he must be induced or moved to walk in that way. Mr. Mann did not justly measure those elements of character and life that transcend the understanding. He did not make sufficient allowance for the power of heredity, conservative habit, inertia, custom, or for the play of feeling and will. He therefore expected results to flow from rational causes that human experience has never justified. Still, we need not regret his mistake. The prophets and apostles of great causes are men of faith and enthusiasm, and if they did not magnify their work they could never accomplish it.

NOTE.—A valuable discussion of the localization of the mental faculties in the brain, including remarks on phrenology, are found in Dr. W. T. Harris' *Psychological Foundations of Education*, N. Y., 1888, Chap. XIV.

CHAPTER IV

SECRETARY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BOARD OF EDUCATION

NEAR the close of his legislative term, Mr. Mann signed, as President of the Senate, a bill upon which his whole after life, and so this history, turns. It bore the date April 20, 1837, carried the title "An Act Relating to Common Schools," and contained the following provisions:

(1) His Excellency the Governor, with the advice and consent of the council, should appoint eight persons, who, together with the governor and lieutenant-governor *ex officio*, should constitute and be denominated the Board of Education; the persons so appointed should hold their offices for the term of eight years, provided that the first person named should go out of office at the end of one year, the person next named at the end of two years, etc., till the whole Board be changed; and the governor, with the advice and consent of the council as before, should fill all vacancies, which occurred from death, resignation, or otherwise. (2) The Board of Education should prepare and lay before the legislature, in a printed form, on or before the second Wednesday of January, annually, an abstract of the school returns received by the Secretary of the Common-

wealth; it might appoint its own secretary, who should receive a reasonable compensation for his services, and who should, under the direction of the Board, collect information of the actual condition and efficiency of the common schools, and other means of popular education, and diffuse as widely as possible throughout every part of the Commonwealth, information of the most approved and successful methods of arranging the studies and conducting the education of the young, to the end that all children who depended upon the common schools for instruction, might have the best education which those schools could be made to impart. (3) The Board of Education, annually, should make a detailed report to the legislature of all its doings, with such observations as its experience and reflection might suggest, on the condition and efficiency of the system of popular education, and the most practicable means of improving and extending it.

(At the session of the legislature for 1836-1837 the Directors of the American Institute of Instruction had memorialized that body to consider the expediency of appointing, for a term of years, a Superintendent of the Common Schools of the Commonwealth, urging the usual arguments in favor of the measure. Besides, Governor Everett, in his opening address, recommended the creation of a State Board of Education. The whole subject was accordingly referred to the joint committee of the two houses on education. The committee reported the text of the act summarized above, which was drawn by Mr. James G. Carter of the House of Representatives. At first, the meas-

ure was lost in the House by a vote of nearly two to one, but, owing to Mr. Carter's wise management and advocacy, was finally carried. It was the culmination of the agitation that he had first aided thirteen years before, and that he had continued to promote to the utmost until the end finally crowned the work.

The step that the legislature took was in no sense a revolutionary one. The law imposed some duties upon the Board that it had created, but conferred upon it no real powers. The Board was nothing more than an organ of information. The duties imposed upon it would mean much or mean little according as the law should be interpreted by positive action. The duties of the Board, if performed in a feeble and perfunctory way, would be useless, or worse than useless; but if they were performed with intelligence and vigor, they might become great instruments of power — how great we shall soon have occasion to see. Manifestly everything would depend first upon the character of the Board that the governor should appoint, but ultimately upon the character of the Secretary that the Board should select. In no sense could the law be self-executing.

The wisdom of creating a board at all for such a purpose may be questioned. Why not provide at once for the executive officer who must give the law its efficiency, and dispense with the board altogether? Why not adopt the recommendation of the Directors of the American Institute of Instruction rather than that of Governor Everett? Many of the States that followed Massachusetts in educational effort have not created such boards, and few of the States that have

done so have intrusted them with the appointment of the State educational executive. The general question need not be canvassed in this place; it suffices to remark that the Massachusetts Board of Education at least was not a piece of mistaken judgment. It is not at all probable that a State education department, under the direction of one man, could have been created in 1837, or for years thereafter, if indeed at all. That would have savored of centralization. At the time it was, no doubt, a plural department or nothing. But this is not all; the Board, made up as it was, gave to the department a respectability and dignity, and so a place in the public confidence, that no single executive could have commanded. It has always stood for safety, at least, if not for brilliant initiative. Still further, it has no doubt provided, all things considered, a better State educational administration than the people would have directly provided for themselves, voting at the popular election. The Board has also proved a very competent authority to manage, with the help of its Secretary, the State Normal schools.

The first Board was made up with peculiar care. It was necessary to avoid arousing opposition as far as possible. Years afterward, in the midst of the great religious controversy that we shall have occasion to sketch on future pages, Mr. Mann explained the criteria that were followed in selecting the members. All the great parties into which the State was divided were regarded. First of all religious views were considered, then political considerations. Preferences for men that the public had expressed by elevating

them to official positions, were thought important. And the element of locality, although considered among the weakest motives, was not wholly disregarded. Besides the *ex officio* members, the list, when it appeared, carried the names of these distinguished citizens: James G. Carter, Emerson Davis, Edmund Dwight, Horace Mann, Edward A. Newton, Robert Rantoul, Jr., Thomas Robbins, and Jared Sparks. Carter and Rantoul, one a Whig and the other a Democrat, were taken from the House of Representatives; Mann, a Whig, came from the Senate. Dwight was a Unitarian, Newton an Episcopalian, both business men, while Davis and Robbins were orthodox clergymen. Sparks had formerly been a Unitarian minister, and was at the time President of Harvard College.

The educators of the State generally expected that Mr. Carter would be made the Secretary of the Board, and the appointment of another was the source of much surprise and disappointment. This was not without reason. If any man could be said to have deserved the office, Mr. Carter was the man. His labors as a teacher and writer on popular education were universally appreciated, and the governor very properly placed his name at the head of the list of appointive Board members. But Mr. Carter was passed by and Horace Mann chosen. Mann had done what he could to promote the bill in the Senate, and was well known to be an ardent friend of public education; he had served as a tutor at Providence, and as member of the school committee at Dedham; but he had no record that could be compared with Mr. Carter's. It

was not strange, therefore, that his preferment should create surprise. The selection of Mr. Mann and his acceptance were brought about by Mr. Edmund Dwight, a gentleman whom we shall soon have occasion to notice more at length. Mr. Dwight, no doubt, appreciated the peculiar nature of the work to be done by the Secretary, and discerned in Mr. Mann peculiar fitness for this work. A business man himself of great capacity and large enterprises, he knew that a man might be a scholar, a teacher, and an able writer on education, and yet not possess the peculiar combination of qualities that would be necessary to crown the creation of the Secretaryship and of the Board of Education with success. Mr. Carter might have made an admirable Secretary; but it cannot be claimed, at this distance, that he had ever shown the necessary capacity for the work to be done. Mr. George B. Emerson, in the able contribution¹ that he made to the controversy growing out of Mr. Mann's Seventh Report, answered in the negative the question, whether it would not have been better for the Board to choose a Secretary who was engaged in the practical work of teaching, basing his answer on general principles as well as on special facts. No teacher could have been found so deeply versed as Mr. Mann in the externals of the schools, as the application of the laws and the duties of committee men. More than this, a teacher would be wedded to his own modes of instruction and discipline, and not be likely to possess the necessary impartiality. It was one of the great

¹ *Observations on a Pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Hon. Horace Mann."* Boston, 1844.

lessons of history that reforms in society come almost uniformly from abroad. The Board of Education was a reform; and the Board wisely chose for its executive officer a member of a profession so foreign to teaching that he would be able to consider every question from a new point of view. Furthermore, Mr. Mann held a prominent place in the State, and his mental and moral endowments were pre-eminent. Mr. Emerson also found decisive proof of the wisdom of the Board in the selection that it made, in Mr. Mann's profound and intimate acquaintance with the laws and institutions of Massachusetts, acquired especially in the preparation of the Revised Statutes, and in his strong humanitarian faith, feeling, and practice.

Mr. Mann had not for a moment dreamed that he would be thought of in connection with the secretaryship, or even thought of himself in such a connection. The proposition to elect him Secretary therefore struck him with surprise. However, he treated it seriously from the beginning. "A most responsible and important office," he wrote, "bearing more effectually, if well executed, upon the coming welfare of the State than any other office in it." Two or three extracts from his diary and letters will show how his mind worked on the subject, revealing his misgivings and moral reflections. He wrote, a few days after the election was proposed to him:

"Ought I to think of filling this high and responsible office? Can I adequately perform its duties? Will my greater zeal in the cause than that of others supply the deficiency in point of talent and information? Whoever shall undertake that task must en-

counter privation, labor, and an infinite annoyance from an infinite number of schemers, etc. . . . But should he succeed; should he bring forth the germs of greatness and of happiness which Nature has scattered abroad, and expand them into maturity, and enrich them with fruit; should he be able to teach, to even a few of this generation, how mind is a god over matter; how, in arranging objects of desire, a subordination of the less valuable to the more is the great secret of individual happiness; how the whole of life depends upon the scale which we form of its relative values, — could he do this, what diffusion, what intensity, what perpetuity of blessings he would confer! How would his beneficial influence upon mankind widen and deepen as it descended forever!”

The day that he accepted the office and handed his resignation of his membership in the Board to the governor, he wrote:

“Henceforth so long as I hold this office I devote myself to the supremest welfare of mankind upon earth. An inconceivably greater labor is undertaken. With the highest degree of prosperity, results will manifest themselves but slowly. The harvest is far distant from the seedtime. Faith is the only sustainer. I have faith in the improvability of the race, — in their accelerating improvability. This effort may do, apparently, but little. But mere beginning a good cause is never little. If we can get this vast wheel into any perceptible motion, we shall have accomplished much. And more and higher qualities than mere labor and perseverance will be

requisite. . . . Men can resist the influence of talent; they will deny demonstration, if need be: but few will combat goodness for any length of time. A spirit mildly devoting itself to a good cause is a certain conqueror. Love is a universal solvent. Wilfulness will maintain itself against persecution, torture, death, but will be fused and dissipated by kindness, forbearance, sympathy. Here is a clew given by God to lead us through the labyrinth of the world."

That Horace Mann, at the age of forty-one, should be willing to abandon his profession and retire from politics for the purpose of accepting the secretaryship of the nascent Board of Education, naturally excited much surprise. Naturally, also, it has continued to excite surprise. The riddle is easy to read. First, there is reason to think that he was not enthusiastically attached to the legal profession. There is no doubt that the law interested him, or that he practised it with much success; but his tone, when he has occasion to refer to the profession, is never colored by that warm devotion which has ever characterized the great lawyers. Then the inducement that drew him to the new cause was strong, and its nature must not be mistaken. It was not scientific interest, or the love of knowledge and instruction for their own sake. It was rather his abiding faith in the improvability of the race, in their accelerating improvability, and his faith in education as conducing to that end. He was moved by the power of moral ideas; as Mr. Martin puts it, "All subjects for him were shadowed by the eternities." In accepting the office of Secretary he was merely devoting himself to the supremest welfare

of mankind upon earth. So, as soon as practicable, he closed up his law office without a pang, and turned to his new mission, saying as he did so, "The interests of a client are small compared with the interests of the next generation. Let the next generation, then, be my client."

There is still another view to be taken of the subject. What struck Mr. Mann as most extraordinary in relation to the office was, that every man who approached him on the subject, with the exception of Dr. Channing, asked about the salary that he was to receive, or raised the question of honor; while no man seemed to recognize the possible usefulness of the office, or the dignity and elevation which is wrought into beneficent action. Many of his friends thought his course distinctly foolish. But he went on his way unmoved. "If the title is not sufficiently honorable now," he wrote, "then it is clearly left for me to elevate it; and I had rather be creditor than debtor to the title." He wrote to his sister: "If I can be the means of ascertaining what is the best construction of houses, what are the best books, what is the best arrangement of studies, what are the best modes of instruction; if I can discover by what appliance of means a non-thinking, non-reflecting, non-speaking child can most surely be trained into a noble citizen ready to contend for the right and to die for the right, — if I can only obtain and diffuse throughout this State a few good ideas on these and similar objects, may I not flatter myself that my ministry has not been wholly in vain?"

CHAPTER V

THE SECRETARYSHIP IN OUTLINE

MR. MANN served as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education twelve years. It is proposed in this chapter to give a general account of his administration of the office, and then in succeeding chapters to present fuller accounts of two or three of its more important features. First, however, it will be well to describe the more important work that Mr. Mann's forerunners had left undone; or, in other words, to state the principal questions that immediately confronted him, growing out of the existing state of affairs.

1. The whole State needed to be thoroughly aroused to the importance and value of public instruction.

2. The public schools needed to be democratized; that is, the time had more than come when they should be restored to the people of the State, high as well as low, in the good old sense of the name.

3. The public necessities demanded an expansion of public education in respect to kinds of schools and range of instruction.

4. The legal school organization and machinery, as existing, were not in harmony with the new social conditions. Moreover, current methods of administration were loose and unbusinesslike.

— 5. The available school funds were quite insufficient for maintaining good schools, and called loudly for augmentation.

-- 6. The schools were, to a great extent, antiquated and outgrown in respect to the quantity and quality of the instruction that they furnished, as well as in methods of teaching, management, discipline, and supervision.¹

These are comprehensive propositions, flowing into one another. No attempt has been made to state them in the order of their ultimate importance, but rather in the order of their urgency, and in the order of Mr. Mann's fitness to deal with them and of the success that crowned his efforts. While he accomplished much for the schools of Massachusetts and the country *as schools*, that is, as places where youth are prepared for life, his most obvious and effective

¹ On the side of supervision this was the situation in 1837, as Mr. Mann afterwards described it, drawing his facts from the town reports: (1) "In two-thirds of all the towns in the State teachers were allowed to commence school without being previously examined and approved by the committee as required by law. (2) In many cases teachers obtained their wages from the treasurer without lodging any duplicate certificate with him, as the law requires. (3) The law required committees to prescribe text-books. In one hundred towns—a third part in the Commonwealth—this duty was neglected, and all the evils incident to a confusion of books suffered. (4) The law required committees to furnish books to scholars whose parents were unable or had neglected to provide them. In forty towns this was omitted, and poor children went to school without books. (5) The law required committees to visit the schools a certain number of times. From their own statements it appeared that out of three hundred towns about two hundred and fifty did not comply with the law. (6) On an average one-third of all the children of the State between the ages of four and sixteen were absent from school in the winter, and two-fifths of them in the summer."

work as an educational reformer was directed to their external features and to the system. He must be blind indeed who does not see the distinction between two classes of men; between such educators as Stein and Pestalozzi, Guizot and Fröbel. The relative rank of the two classes is but a speculative question. If Pestalozzi, Fröbel, and their like, give the world new ideas, it is Stein, Guizot, and their like, who make these ideas fruitful in the fullest sense by organizing them into institutions. Indeed, the Greeks did not differentiate as we do. Plato and Aristotle put much of their pedagogical thought in political treatises. Furthermore, the class in which Mr. Mann stands necessarily determines the character of any work that deals adequately with him. Such a work must be the story of practical activities, not the exposition of a philosophical or pedagogical system.

Within a week of his acceptance of the office the new Secretary began a course of reading bearing upon his new duties. He reflected that no man could apply himself to any worthy subject, either of thought or of action, but that he would forthwith find it develop into dimensions and qualities of which before he had no conception. His first book was James Simpson's *Necessity of Popular Education*, his second one Miss Edgeworth's *Practical Education*. He found his new reading thoroughly delightful; nothing, he said, could be more congenial to his taste, feelings, and principles. (He also began to study school apparatus, writing at the time in his Journal that, on the point of bringing apparatus into common use, and thus

substituting real for verbal knowledge, he must endeavor to effect a lodgement in the public mind.

Immediately on his acceptance, Mr. Mann began to work out a plan of operations that, when completed, was in perfect accord with the spirit of the law that created his office. He laid out a campaign that was educational in a double sense: it looked ultimately to the children and youth of the State, but immediately, though in a somewhat different sense, to the people of the State. Obviously, the first thing to be done was to awaken the public mind from its deep sleep. First on his programme, therefore, stood a circuit of visits extending through the State, inviting conventions of instructors, school committees, and all others interested in the cause of education, to be held in the different counties, and at such time availing himself of the opportunity to recommend some improvements, and generally to apply a flesh brush to the back of the public. His undertaking embraced much more than at first appears. There was in Massachusetts, as he believed, a great amount of scepticism as to the fundamental principles of American government and society. Some thought it futile, and some undesirable, to attempt to elevate the masses. As one objector put it, the British government was the best in the world; classes were essential to society; some should be cultivated and refined, but others would meet their ends in toil and suffering, in living and dying in vulgarity. Such views as these were thoroughly abhorrent to Horace Mann. His political principles were in complete accord with his moral sentiments. He was a democrat in the best sense of

that term. He believed that the separation of the children of the State in the period of education, — some attending the vulgar public schools while others go to the select private schools, — was a kind of treason to American principles; and one of the grand features of the educational reform to be wrought, as it shaped itself to his imagination, was the restoration of the common schools to their former honorable estate. His wish was to restore the good old custom of having the rich and the poor educated together; and for that end he desired to make the public schools as good as schools could be made, so that the line dividing the rich and the poor might not necessarily be coincident with that dividing the educated and the ignorant.

In August the Secretary sent out his circulars announcing the times and places for holding the county conventions, and in October, armed with an address entitled "The Means and Objects of Common School Education," — the first of a noble series, — he began his circuit. His reports of the conventions, while interesting in the extreme, must be taken with some allowance. His own glowing ardor led him to exaggerate the cold indifference that he encountered. He complains that a Barnstable newspaper gave less than a square to the educational convention, while devoting a full column to a county political convention. At Salem no preparations had been made in advance; everything dragged, and the convention was one of the poorest of the series. One gentleman made the sapient suggestion that the Secretary, as he was entering upon his new duties, would do well to spend

(1) a day in every one of the public schools of the State. None spoke for what Mann considered the American side of the question. He returned to Boston in November, and on reaching it wrote in his Journal: "My great circuit is now completed. The point to which, three months ago, I looked forward with so much anxiety, is reached. The labor is done. With much weariness, with almost unbounded anxiety, with some thwartings, but, on the whole, with unexpected and extraordinary encouragement, the work is done. That, however, is but the beginning. I confess life begins to assume a value which I have not felt for five years before."

(2) On his return from his first missionary tour the Secretary prepared, for publication, his first abstract of the school returns from the State, and made ready his first annual report, which, on the first day of the new year, he presented to the Board with fear and trembling. Next came his special Report on School-houses. Mr. Mann's annual Reports were a most effective instrument in reaching and influencing the public mind, and they will come before us for separate treatment.

In February, 1838, he undertook to inaugurate a series of meetings for the teachers of Boston, where lectures should be delivered and discussions be held with interchanges of experience on educational subjects. He also continued his popular addresses to the public.

— Next in order came the incipient stage of the scheme to which the friends of better schools had from the first been looking with longing eyes. On

March 13, 1838, Mr. Mann sent to the legislature an official communication, announcing that private munificence had placed at his disposal ten thousand dollars to promote common school education in Massachusetts. The conditions of the gift were, that the legislature should vote an equal sum, both amounts to be used as needed under the direction of the Board of Education in qualifying teachers for the common schools: The name of the munificent giver was withheld. In what way the money should be applied to accomplish the end in view, was not even hinted. The legislature closed with the proposition, and the disposition to be made of the money became at once the subject of serious consideration. We find the Secretary in conference with committees representing various parts of the State in relation to founding schools for teachers. "If we get teachers' seminaries," he wrote, "it will not be because they are of spontaneous growth." The discussion culminated in the establishment of the first Massachusetts Normal schools. These schools rank among Mr. Mann's foremost educational services to the State and country, and they richly merit the prominence that only a separate chapter can give them.

At the opening of the autumn season, Mr. Mann began his second grand educational tour of the State. The address that he delivered at the various conventions was entitled "Special Preparation a Prerequisite to Teaching."¹ It became clearer and clearer as he

¹ The five other addresses of this series, published in *The Life and Works of Horace Mann*, bear the following titles: "The Necessity of Education in a Republican Government;" "What God Does

went on his way that his first great object, the awakening of the public mind, was in course of accomplishment. Others thought his progress a triumphal procession, and his own comments are, perhaps, more encouraging than they had been the year before. At Hanover, where Mr. Rantoul, Mr. Putnam, ex-President Adams, and Daniel Webster spoke, as well as himself, he wrote, "A great day for common schools." At Springfield the meeting was miserable, at once discouraging and repulsive. At Pittsfield the meeting was not numerous, but two or three individuals who attended were of themselves equal to a meeting. A little dent was made in Worcester. At Topsfield it was poor in point of numbers, but very good in point of respectability. The Taunton convention was a grand one. He closed up the circuit with the remark: "When I undertook the arduous labor of effecting improvements in our common school system up to a reasonable and practicable degree, I did so with a full conviction that it would require twenty or twenty-five years of the continued exertions of some one, accompanied with good fortune, to accomplish the work; and I think I took hold of it with a cordiality and resolution which would not be worn out in less than a quarter of a century. I am now of the opinion that one-twentieth part of the work has been done."

It has seemed well to give a somewhat particular account of the first year of Mr. Mann's secretaryship.

and What He Leaves for Man to Do in the Work of Education;" "An Historical View of Education, Showing its Dignity and its Degradation;" "On District School Libraries;" "On School Publications."

Henceforth we shall be able to move more rapidly. Still it is worth observing, before we begin to hasten our steps, that the incidents of Mr. Mann's annual circuits, in connection with his comments, are among the most interesting things in the history of his work. To make an impression in Berkshire, he said, was like trying to batter down Gibraltar with one's fist. After a meeting at Northampton he wrote: "Ah, me! I have hold of so large a mountain that there is much danger that I shall break my own back in trying to lift it." He said of Barnstable: "I will work in this moral, as well as physical, sandbank of a county till I can get some new things to grow out of it." At Dedham, his former home, the convention was a meagre, spiritless, discouraging affair. If the schoolmaster was abroad in the county, he said he should like to meet him. At Wellfleet the convention was miserable, contemptible, deplorable. On a second visit to Pittsfield he found that no arrangements had been made to prepare the schoolhouse for the meeting; so Mr. Mann and Governor Briggs provided themselves with brooms, swept out the building, and set things in order. These incidents are culled from the records of several years. Mr. Mann was annoyed that, while as a lawyer or politician he was considered a popular speaker, he should awaken so little interest in the incomparably greater theme of education. Once he said that he queried whether, in regard to two or three counties in Massachusetts, it would not be advisable to alter the law for quelling riots and mobs, and instead of summoning the sheriff and *posse comitatus* for their dispersion, to put them to flight

by making proclamation of a discourse on common schools. But of course similar lamentations have been heard since the days of Plutarch.

In November, 1838, Mr. Mann brought out the first issue of *The Common School Journal*, which, as he said ten years afterwards, "came to the public rather as their fate than as a consequence of their free will. It was born, not because it was wanted, but because it was needed." It was published semi-monthly, in octavo form, each number containing sixteen pages, making an annual volume of three hundred and eighty-four pages. The subscription price was one dollar a year.

The prospectus of *The Journal* declared its great object to be, the improvement of the common schools and other means of education. More definitely, the prospectus announced that it would contain the laws of the State in relation to education, and the reports, proceedings, etc., of the State Board of Education. It would explain and enforce upon parents, guardians, teachers, and school officers their duty towards the rising generation. It would urge upon children and youth obedience to the laws of health, the cultivation of good behavior, the development and enrichment of their intellectual faculties, and the control of the animal and selfish propensities through the exaltation of the moral and religious sentiments. It would shun partisanship in politics, and sectarianism in religion, but would vindicate and commend the practice of the great and fundamental truths of civil and social obligation, of moral and religious duty. Its aim would be not so much the discovery of know-

ledge as its diffusion. The trouble with the country was less that few things were known on the subject of education than that they were known to but few persons. It should, therefore, be the first effort of all the friends of education to make known the accessible body of truth to the largest possible number of persons. *The Journal* was pledged to do what it could towards accomplishing this object.¹

The Common School Journal was more than a worthy successor to the educational journals that preceded it. The ten annual volumes published under Mr. Mann's editorship fully redeemed the generous promises of the prospectus. Besides his Reports, he contributed scores of valuable articles to its pages. Volume V. of the *Life and Works* contains more than three hundred pages of choice "extracts" from *The Journal*. He also laid other able pens under contribution. The intelligence published in the successive numbers is an important part of the educational history of the times, and files of it are eagerly sought for by libraries and by students of education.

Looking back to 1837 through sixty years of history, we can see that the educational revival in Massachusetts, particularly as represented by the State Board of Education and its Secretary, was fated to encounter violent opposition. Indeed, no great power of divination could have been necessary to discover at the outset that such opposition would appear and

¹ The first volumes of *The Journal* were published by Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb; afterwards the publication passed into the hands of Wm. B. Fowle, who continued it as editor and publisher after Mr. Mann's retirement from the Secretaryship.

would assume three forms: one political, one professional, one religious. Very naturally, the elements of opposition tended strongly to coalesce; still, they were so distinct in their sources and history that they can be separately treated. The controversies that Mr. Mann waged with the Boston schoolmasters and religious sectaries demand each a separate chapter; the political controversy can be adequately treated in this place.

The act creating the Board of Education was not passed without much difficulty. Only Mr. Carter's eloquent persuasion and tactful management carried it through the House of Representatives. The act passed and the Board organized, the opposition waited to see what was going to happen. It did not have long to wait, because slight provocation answered its purpose. Although we have reserved the religious controversy for a separate chapter, it is not possible wholly to exclude the topic from this place. The first murmur of opposition to the Board was awakened by the innocent conduct of the Secretary. When on his first circuit of the State, Mr. Mann found himself one Sunday morning at Edgartown, and as there were only orthodox churches in town, which he did not care to attend, he went to Chapoquiddic to see the Indians, availing himself of the opportunity to show an interest in their welfare and to encourage them in well-doing. This conduct drew down upon him local criticism, one minister, who came into town the next day to attend the convention, going so far as to say, when he heard that Mr. Mann had not been to church, that he would as lief not hear him as hear him, and

that Mann, if he did not wish to show a preference among the three churches, should have attended them all in succession. This is a sorry story, and not worth the telling, but it illustrates the temper of the times, and suggests the quarter from which the first attack was made upon the Board of Education.

Denominational feelings were strong in those days; and in Massachusetts they were accentuated by the bitter controversy that had attended the disruption of the Historical Church of the Commonwealth. The loss of so many churches, and especially the loss of Harvard College, the fruit of the labors and prayers of the Puritans, had embittered the ecclesiastical body that now represented the ancient orthodoxy, and made its leaders distrustful of any movement that might tend still farther to weaken its hold upon society. Anxious to avoid sectarian or party prejudice, Mr. Mann was always judicious in his public addresses and published writings; but it is not impossible that, in private conversation, he uttered some of those caustic things about the "godly" and the "orthodox" that we find in his diary and letters. At all events, it was well known that he was a stanch Unitarian, and his early speech in the legislature against religious intolerance was probably not forgotten. Education lies proximate to religion—the school to the church. It was therefore certain in the beginning that keen eyes would closely scrutinize the acts of the Board and the Secretary, to discover whether they did not in reality constitute an engine of heretical propagandism.

Within a year of the time that the Secretary actually

entered upon his work, the religious press opened the attack. It was charged that the Board had refused to assist in introducing into the common schools the American Sunday School Library. The charge was also made that the Board held it to be illegal to allow books that treated on religious subjects to be put on the desks of the schoolrooms. These were sins of omission. On the other hand, some religious people were extremely jealous of the Board's recommending books at all; while some citizens charged that it was the design of the Board to introduce formal religious instruction into the schools. Then there were fears that the Normal schools would be filled with Unitarian teachers, and that the district libraries would contain books of a baneful influence. The plain facts will be stated in another place. It is quite clear, however, that the Board and its Secretary were called upon to walk before the people with much circumspection.

Still, the opposition did not become dangerous until it assumed a political form. It continued to grow, however, and declared itself with force in the legislature in January, 1840. The new governor had come into office on a wave of political revolution. In his address he "cut" the Board, to use Mr. Mann's word, but suggested that the management of the schools should be left to the local authorities. Acting on this hint, a Committee on Retrenchment, raised in the House of Representatives, recommended the abolition of the Board. The matter went to the Committee on Education, which recommended the abolition of the Board and the Normal schools, and

the refunding to Mr. Dwight of the money that he had given to found these schools. The cry of expense was raised so loud that, the Secretary said, if Englishmen should hear it they would think the Board were trying to surpass the British national debt. The Board was denounced as a measure of centralization, and the name "Prussian" was applied to it. Its purpose, so it was declared, was to substitute despotic principles for democratic principles. The Normal schools were useless, because the academies and high schools could prepare all the teachers, and the district libraries were harmful because they contained no books of religion. The religious sectaries did their utmost to assist the politicians who were resolved on revoking the recent legislation. The moment was a most anxious one. However, the attack was repelled with vigor, and when the division came "the bigots and vandals," as Mann called them, received only 182 votes to 245 cast on the other side. The result gave the friends of progress the liveliest satisfaction. Apparently, Mr. Mann had not expected the onslaught to succeed; but he anticipated that it would end in alienating a part of the public from the cause, which it would cost him another year of labor to reclaim.¹

The legislative leader in the attack upon the Board in 1840 was dropped by his constituency at the next election. Still, the opposition did not at once sub-

¹ The documentary history of the struggle of 1840 is found in *The Common School Journal*, Vol. II., pp. 234-248: the reports, both majority and minority, of the Committee on Education, the two leading speeches *pro* and *con*, and a selection of letters from leading educators.

side. The governor was not satisfied with the way things were going. So, at the next session, a bill was brought in that proposed to transfer the powers and duties of the Board to the governor and council, and of the Secretary to the Secretary of State. Again religious bigotry was at the bottom of the movement. One can hardly blame Mr. Mann for writing in his diary: "Thus another blow is aimed at our existence, and by men who would prefer that good should not be done rather than that it should be done by men whose views on religious subjects differ from their own. The validity of their claim to Christianity is in the inverse ratio to the claim itself; they claim the whole, but possess nothing." Retrenchment of expenses was the political hobby of the year, and both parties, Mann said, ran a race for the laurel of economy, and were willing to sacrifice all the laurels of the State to win it. The attack was strongly repelled, like the previous one; and, although the final vote was taken at an inopportune time for the Board and Secretary, the bill received only 114 votes to 151 cast against it.

This was the end of practical opposition. It was most fortunate not only for the educational interests of Massachusetts, but for the educational interests of the country as a whole, that the victory rested where it did. In some other States, about the same time, reactionary measures prevailed, and the cause of education received a severe backset.

Schools and education in the technical sense of the words by no means fully measured the movement for democratizing knowledge that set in early in the

present century. Cheap books, cheap periodicals, cheap postage, and circulating libraries were important parts of the movement. For example, the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge was organized in England in 1837, Lord Brougham contributing the first book on the list, *The Pleasures and Advantages of Science*. The district school library of the United States proposed to unite the school with the wider means of cultivation.

To Governor De Witt Clinton, of New York, that enlightened friend of popular intelligence, is due the credit of first recommending such libraries, which he did in his annual message to the legislature in 1827.¹ Still it was not until 1835 that the legislature of New York authorized the taxable inhabitants of the several school districts to impose a tax of not exceeding twenty dollars a year for the first year, or ten dollars a year thereafter, for the purchase of a district library, consisting of such books as they should in their district meeting direct. This was the real beginning of a movement that, in fifteen years, placed 1,600,000 books within the reach of the school children of the State of New York. Almost at once other States began to emulate the Empire State, and district school libraries soon overspread the land. Horace Mann's vivid remembrance of the advantages that he had received from the small library which Dr. Franklin gave to Mann's native town, not to

¹ The following are Governor Clinton's words: "The scale of instruction must be elevated; . . . small and suitable collections of books and maps attached to our common schools, and periodical examinations to test the proficiency of the scholars and the merits of the teachers are worthy of attention."

speaking of other causes, would naturally predispose him to look with favor upon the proposition. He espoused it with enthusiasm and adhered to it with persistence.

The same legislature that created the Massachusetts Board of Education authorized the school districts to tax themselves for the purchase of apparatus and common school libraries, the amount of the tax not to exceed thirty dollars for the first year and ten dollars for any succeeding year. Referring to this action in his first convention address, the Secretary said, although the provision made seemed trifling, yet he regarded the law as hardly second in importance to any that had been passed since the Act of 1647 created the common schools of the State.

But the authority conferred by the law was permissive only, and the people were slow to act. Thinking that this was largely due to popular fear that the books purchased would be channels for propagating partisan and sectarian views, Mr. Mann proposed, in March, 1838, to the Board of Education that it should itself take measures for the preparation of a suitable common school library. This proposition was received with favor, and steps were immediately taken to carry it into effect.¹ The Secretary now set himself to ascertain, by careful investigation, the number of public libraries in the State, the number of volumes that each contained, their estimated value, and the number of persons who had the right of access to them. Space cannot be found here for the reproduc-

¹ The Board did not, however, attempt to print the books; it selected them, and left the rest to private enterprise.

tion of the statistics that were gathered. Suffice it to say, the results surpassed in all respects his worst apprehensions. He contrasted the existing libraries and the proposed common school libraries much to the disadvantage of the former. The existing libraries were owned and controlled by the rich and well-to-do; the new ones would reach the poor. The first were prepared for adult and educated minds; the second would instruct young and unenlightened minds. "By the former," he said, "books are collected in great numbers at a few places having broad deserts between; by the latter a few good books are to be sent into every school district in the State, so that not a child shall be born in our beloved Commonwealth who shall not have a collection of good books accessible to him at all times, and free of expense, within half an hour's walk of his home wherever he may reside."

The Secretary continued to press the subject with vigor. He devoted to it, in its various aspects, the major part of his Report for the year 1839. He saw clearly the fact that has been so much insisted upon in recent years,—that the common schools have only begun their work when they have taught the children of the land the art of reading, and that it is equally their duty to give them a taste for good reading and some critical capacity for discovering what is worth reading and what is not. Mr. Mann deprecated the reading of history by children, at least as history has been generally written. After enumerating some of the best works of this class, then current, he exclaimed: "And how little do these books contain

which is suitable for children! How little do they record but the destruction of human life and the activity of those misguided energies of men which have hitherto almost baffled the beneficent intentions of Nature for human happiness!" Those persons who think the popular literary taste is all the time declining may pluck up courage from the perusal of Mr. Mann's description of the literature that was most sought after at the libraries in his time. "Fiction," "light reading," "trashy works," "bubble literature," etc., are the names that he bestows upon the books that were most in demand. Such books had increased immeasurably within twenty years, and he was satisfied that the larger part of the unprofessional reading of the community was of this class of works. Verily, the deterioration of the human race in strength and virtue does go back to the days of Nestor! The legislature in 1842 offered to every school district in the State a premium of fifteen dollars for the founding or extension of a district library, provided it would raise, by a district tax, an equal sum for the same object. At this time, it is said, one-fourth of the towns formed libraries, and the next year the privilege of the act was extended to cities and towns not cut up into school districts. Mr. Mann eulogized this legislation warmly in *The Common School Journal*. It must, however, be said that the district school library in the end fell far short of his glowing expectations. Applications for the State bounty reached their maximum in 1843, and continued to decline until 1850, when the law was repealed. The subject now assumed a new form:

the school libraries were superseded by the free town libraries, which have proved so eminently successful.

The district school library, upon the whole, did not meet expectations. In some States it was more successful than in others. It has now generally passed away. To discover the reasons for its comparative failure is an inquiry lying beyond the range of this work. But the truth of history requires that two or three things shall be said. In their time, these libraries supplied a great number of people — children, youth, and adults — with a store of excellent reading matter that, otherwise, they could not have enjoyed. They were an anticipation, no doubt vague and unsatisfactory, of the idea now so well defined, that the library is an invaluable auxiliary to the school. They prepared the way for the free public library, which has come to be an inseparable adjunct of a good school system, and a necessity to every progressive American community that is large enough to support it. Horace Mann therefore made no mistake when he pleaded for the children's library with an eloquence equal to that with which he pleaded for the teachers' Normal school.¹

Mr. Mann's promptness to adopt ideas and appliances that others originated is illustrated by his in-

¹ On school district libraries, see *The Life and Works of Horace Mann*, Vol. II., pp. 61, 297, 378, Vol. III., pp. 48, 374, Vol V., pp. 202, 215; Kiddle and Schem, *The Cyclopædia of Education*, article "Libraries"; S. S. Randall, *History of the Common School System of the State of New York*, *passim*; *Public Libraries in the United States of America*, etc., Washington, 1876, Chap. II.; *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, 1895, 1896, Chaps. VIII., IX.

roduction into Massachusetts of a new instrument of educational power that was invented over the border in Connecticut. In this field there is no such thing as plagiarism.

On his election as Secretary of the Connecticut Board of Education, Dr. Henry Barnard made an immediate attempt to found a Normal school, and failed. Defeated but not dismayed, conscious also of the gross incapacity of a majority of teachers in the schools of the State, he cast about him to see if anything could be done, and, if so, what, to furnish some immediate, if partial and temporary, relief. He undertook, at his own expense, "to show the practicability of making some provision for the better qualification of common school teachers, by giving them an opportunity to revise and extend their knowledge of the studies usually pursued in district schools, and of the best methods of school arrangements, instruction, and government under the recitations and lectures of experienced and well-known teachers and educators." He called together such of the male teachers of Hartford County as saw fit to respond to his circular, twenty-six in number, in what he called a "convention," and together with his helpers proceeded to give them the instruction that they needed. This was in 1839; the next year Mr. Barnard held a similar convention for lady teachers. Such was the origin of the teachers' institute, long one of the characteristic features of our American system of schools. Apparently Mr. Barnard thought only of a temporary expedient, but he builded better than he knew. His example was quickly followed. The first

institute in New York, and the first to bear the name in the country, was held in 1843; the first in Massachusetts and Ohio in 1845; the first in Michigan in 1846. Dr. Barnard did more than simply to call the institute into being—he determined practically its form and object as now carried on.¹

In 1844 Mr. Mann drew the attention of the Board of Education to the subject of institutes. He had been particularly impressed by the nascent institute organization of New York, as he had been by the whole school system of that State. “We have borrowed her system of school libraries,” “she has borrowed our system of Normal schools,” he said; “let us now adopt the system of teachers’ institutes which she has projected, and thus maintain that noble rivalry of benefactions which is born of philanthropy; that cares more for the good that is done than it does who are the devisers, the agents, or the recipients of it.” The next year the same generous citizen who had contributed to founding the Normal schools put at the Secretary’s disposal \$1000 to be used in making an experiment, and with this money four institutes were held in as many counties in the autumn of 1845, the first one at Pittsfield. In 1846 the legislature appropriated \$2500 for the expenses of institutes, putting the money at the disposal of the State Board. Afterwards this

¹ On teachers’ institutes, see the following: Henry Barnard, *Normal Schools and Other Institutions, Agencies, and Means designed for the Professional Preparation of Teachers*, Hartford, 1851; *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. VIII., p. 673, Vol. XIV., p. 253, Vol. XV., pp. 276, 405, Vol. XXII., p. 557; J. H. Smart, *Teachers’ Institutes; A Circular of Information of the Bureau of Education*. Washington, 1885.

sum was increased, and the conditions governing its use made more liberal.

Mr. Mann was an efficient institute lecturer and instructor himself. Nor did he ever lose faith in this means of instructing and inspiring teachers. In an address delivered at Cincinnati, in 1854, he said, all persons who wished well to colleges must wish well to common schools, and do all that lay in their power to elevate their character. Because he felt the weight of this obligation, he had spent, he said, the greater part of the long summer vacation attending institutes in Ohio and other States teaching teachers how to teach.

In May, 1843, Mr. Mann was married to Miss Mary Peabody, and immediately sailed for Europe. He was moved to pay this visit to the Old World partly by his belief that he could do most for education at home by studying education abroad, and partly by the miserable state of his health. He had now carried on his great work six years. Nor was this all. He had continued to take a lively interest in the measures of social reform that interested him. It is not strange, therefore, that his "whole capital of health" was exhausted, or that his brain, as Dr. Howe described it, had come "to go alone." Unfortunately, the physical benefits that he derived from his visit abroad did not meet his own or his friends' expectations, for he soon discovered that absorption in European schools was almost as exhausting as absorption in American schools. The better to accomplish his purpose, many of the great thoroughfares of travel, and most of the attractive objects that ordinary travellers sought out, were

left untrodden or unseen. He was always heedful of his mission, keeping his mind in perpetual contact with the great interests of mankind, and seeing the institutions out of which human characters arise as vegetation grows out of the soil. He visited England, Ireland, and Scotland; Germany, Holland, and France. In respect to education, he ranked the countries that he visited in this order: Prussia, Saxony, and the western and southwestern States of Germany; Holland and Scotland; Ireland, France, and Belgium, with England at the foot of the list. On his return home, at the end of six months, he embodied his observations and reflections in his Seventh Report, which circumstances at least, if not merit, conspired to render the most celebrated of all his Reports.

Mr. Mann's indefatigable labors at home did not prevent his visiting other States, both to study the progress that they were making in education and to lend the friends of the cause a helping hand. He was called upon to deliver addresses from far and near, and his not unfrequent responses were much appreciated. Thus Professor Griscom reports meeting him in a convention of superintendents and teachers held at Utica, New York, in the spring of 1842. Griscom wrote in his autobiography that Mann had then "acquired a reputation for a philanthropic devotion to the great cause of education and for a profound skill in all the practical details of instruction, unrivalled by any other person in the United States. He pursued the subject *con amore*. His speeches in the convention, as well as the written lecture delivered in the church, furnished the most decisive evidences of a

mind affluent in bright and just conceptions, eloquent, racy, and commanding, yet modest and restrained in manner. No man, perhaps, has viewed the subject of schools under more varied aspects, or is better qualified to give an opinion best adapted to our country."¹

With a single exception we have now described, or at least referred to, Mr. Mann's principal labors in the Secretary's office, viz., (the annual circuits of the State, the annual abstracts of statistics and the Reports, the occasional addresses and lectures, the conferences with the Board and members of the legislature, the oversight of the Normal schools and of the district libraries, the defence of the Board and its Secretary against controversial attacks, and *The Common School Journal*. The exception referred to is the correspondence, official and personal, that the office entailed upon him, which was by no means confined to the State of Massachusetts. Somewhere in the documents the average correspondence of the office is stated as being from thirty to forty letters a day. Surely here was work for an able man of vigorous health, supported by adequate clerical help. But, first, Mr. Mann was not in vigorous health. Mr. Fowle, his friend and publisher, testifies that Mann's labors were so excessive that he had known him to be unable to sleep for weeks at a time. Then he was not supported by any clerical help whatever, save such as he procured at his own expense. Sixteen hours was a common day's work for him. Only a man of great native and acquired power of accomplishment could have turned off so much work,

¹ *Memoir of John Griscom, LL.D., etc.* New York, 1839, pp. 295, 296.

of such a high quality, during the twelve years that he held the office.

Still another source of surprise remains to be mentioned. This is the miserable allowance that the State of Massachusetts made for his services. The Act of 1837, creating the Board of Education, authorized no expenditure of money beyond a reasonable compensation for the services of the secretary to be elected, not exceeding \$1000 per annum. Mr. Mann expected that his salary would be made \$2500 for the first year, and after that \$3000. The legislature finally fixed the salary at \$1500, but made no provision whatever for contingent expenses, not even for office rent. Mann estimated that the salary would leave for his ordinary expenses and services, after defraying his extraordinary expenses, about \$500 a year. His comment was, "Well, one thing is certain, I will be revenged on them; I will do them more than \$1500 worth of good."

But this is only the beginning of the story. When the time came for the legislature to provide for stationery and postage, Mr. Mann did not charge to the State one-half of the real cost, lest a large expense account should raise up enemies to the office. Such books as he needed to carry on his work, he purchased and paid for himself. Five years passed before any allowance was made for his travelling expenses over the State, although he was thus employed four months in the year. Still more, he was a constant contributor out of his own pocket to the cause that lay so near his heart. He actually paid his own money, several hundred dollars at a time, to complete, repair, or furnish

the buildings of every one of the three Normal schools when the public funds proved to be insufficient. On one occasion he sold his law library at much less than its value to enable him to make the gift. He provided all these schools with needed maps at his own expense. He paid the State printers for such extra copies of his own Reports as he wished to circulate outside of the regular channels. *The Common School Journal*, which he would never have undertaken had not such a channel of communication with the public been necessary, was a constant drain upon him to the close of the fourth volume, although he gave away single numbers, and even whole sets, with the greatest liberality. He visited Europe in the public interest, but at his own charges; and on his return refused the proposition of a competent publisher to print his notes in book form for the market, saying that he was a public officer, and that the public was entitled to these notes free of charge; and so he threw the matter into his Seventh Report. His custom was to hold four or five conventions where the State met the expenses of only one, and the same with the institutes when their time came.

This story of self-sacrifice becomes pathetic when taken in connection with Mr. Mann's financial condition at the time when he entered upon the duties of his office, growing out of the financial responsibilities that he had assumed on account of his unfortunate brother. All his savings were swept away, and he was left as necessitous as the unfortunate brother himself. He gave up his boarding house, put a bed in a room adjoining his office, took care of the room

himself, and picked up his living, apparently, here and there. Thus he lived three full years. For six months, he says, he was unable to buy a dinner on half the days. Suffering from hunger and exhaustion and overworked, he fell ill, and so continued for two months; his best friends did not expect his recovery, and some of them, as he believed, deprecated it as the infliction of further suffering. His privations and illness still further weakened a constitution that had been broken down while he was preparing for college. It is indeed to be said that the generous friend who brought about his appointment as Secretary, and who contributed so generously to the Normal schools and teachers' institutes, added \$500 a year to his meagre resources.

It is not strange therefore that, on Mr. Mann's retirement from the office in 1848, some friends in the legislature proposed that the State should repay him some part of the outlay that he had incurred in its interest. He replied that he could not present himself in the form of a petitioner, asking for a return of what was voluntarily given. He must take care of his honor. The State was the proper judge of its own. If the State chose to consider any part of the sums he had paid as paid on its account, it would be gratefully received, both as a token of its approbation and as the refunding of money he must otherwise lose; "but let what will come," he closed with saying, "no poverty and no estimate of my services, however low, can ever make me repine that I have sought with all the means and the talents at my command to lay broader and deeper the foundation of the prosperity of our Commonwealth, and to ele-

vate its social and moral character among its confederate States and in the eyes of the world." The legislature accordingly voted him, without a single dissenting voice in either House, a part of the money that he had spent for the public good. The committee that reported the resolution said it was not proposed to *pay him off*, or to rob him of the well-earned conviction that he was a benefactor of the State; the amount was made small because the committee believed that a small amount would be more agreeable to his feelings than a larger one.

It is easy for the carping critic at this day to say that Horace Mann was not called upon thus to sacrifice himself for the public good of Massachusetts; that, in the long run, he would only injure the cause, and the State by encouraging it in small ideas and little ways. We must remember, however, that the cause of popular education was feeble in 1837-1848 as compared with the closing years of the century. We must remember, also, the circumspection with which both the Board and the Secretary were compelled to acquit themselves in their official capacities. There is no telling what plans and prospects of future good might have been overturned in those precarious times if a few hundred dollars more had been charged up to the State in the Secretary's expense account. Still, this is only an economical view of the subject. Sacrifices like these are incident to the life of any man who takes the next generation for his client. Such a man, like the Great Apostle, will not count his life dear unto himself, so that he may finish with joy the ministry that he has received.

CHAPTER VI

THE MASSACHUSETTS NORMAL SCHOOLS

NORMAL school is the unfortunate name that is given in the United States and some other countries to a school intended for the professional preparation of teachers. The word "normal" is derived from *norm*, *norma*, meaning rule, pattern, model, or standard, and signifies, in general, serving to fix a rule or standard. A Normal school, therefore, has to do with fixing the norm or rule of teaching; but whether the name was given because the school was expected formally to teach the norm, to exemplify it in practice, or to do both of these things, history does not inform us. It will perhaps answer the purpose of all but the curious to state, that the Normal school devotes itself, in part at least, to teaching the principles and the rules of teaching. We borrowed the name, but not the thing, from France, where it came into vogue at the time of the Revolution.¹

In view of the obvious advantages of such a school,

¹ Edward Everett said: "The name was adopted to designate the schools for teachers established in Massachusetts, because it is already in use to denote similar institutions in Europe; because it applies exclusively to schools of this kind, and prevents their being confounded with any others; and because it is short and of convenient use. It has been already adopted in England and in our sister States in writing and speaking of institutions for the education of teachers." — *Address on Normal Schools*.

it is strange that we meet with it for the first time at such a late date in educational history. D  mia, of Lyons, appears to have established in that city a sort of seminary for teaching teachers about the year 1675. But the credit of establishing the first Normal school is commonly ascribed to the Abb   de La Salle, founder of the Institute of the Christian Brethren. In 1685 this noble priest and educator opened at Rheims an institution that he called a seminary for schoolmasters, and at a later day a second one at Paris. Still the system of Normal schools now existing in France does not date from the close of the seventeenth century; the idea never took a real hold of the French mind until the Revolution set in motion the forces that have democratized education.

- But it is to Germany that we must look for the historical antecedents of our American Normal schools.
- The German system of such schools became well established in Prussia in the reign of Frederick the Great, and went forth from that country to subdue the world. Even France, in a sense, is indebted to Germany for her Normal schools. In Germany the school is known, however, as the teachers' seminary, and in England and Scotland as the teachers' training school or training college. Perhaps there is a suggestion of the French mind in the use, in this connection, of the word "normal."

The second chapter of this work shows that the qualifications of teachers had a stronger hold on Horace Mann's forerunners than any other educational idea. From Ticknor to Carter it was the burden of their cry. But down to 1835 there is no direct evidence showing

that American educators were acquainted with what had been done in this line in Europe. There is no reference to it in the several writings that have been referred to in Chapter II. The German teachers' seminary was introduced to the American public in a very simple, and yet in a very interesting, way. Rev. Charles Brooks, pastor of a church at Hingham, Massachusetts, while on his outward voyage to Europe, in the autumn of 1834, had for a companion Dr. H. Julius, then returning from a mission to study the prison systems of the United States on which he had been sent by the Prussian government, and from him he learned the details of the Prussian educational system. When in Germany Mr. Brooks improved the opportunity to extend his knowledge of a subject that had interested him deeply, and on his return home he entered upon an extended educational mission, having for its object the improvement of common schools. In 1835-1837 he addressed many meetings in different parts of Massachusetts, in which he gave an account of the Prussian system of public instruction, and advocated the establishment of a State Normal school. Nor were Mr. Brooks' labors confined to his own State: he extended his mission to New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. To few men do the American Normal schools owe so much as to Charles Brooks.

The Normal school idea had gained such headway in Massachusetts in 1838 that Mr. Edmund Dwight's¹

¹ Mr. Edmund Dwight, graduated at Yale College, was one of the merchant princes of Boston. He was destined for the bar, but took

generous offer to give the State \$10,000 to promote the preparation of teachers for the common schools, provided the legislature would appropriate an equal amount for the same object, was immediately accepted by an almost unanimous vote of both houses. Governor Everett signed the resolution April 19, 1838 — the anniversary of the battle of Lexington. But this was not the only suggestion of that battle that the history furnishes, as we shall soon see. The manner of using the money given by Mr. Dwight and voted by the legislature was committed wholly to the discretion of the Board of Education. Several questions of importance at once presented themselves. Should the Board concentrate its efforts upon a single central Normal school? Should it establish two or more schools? Should it do what had been done in New York, support normal instruction, or normal departments in different academies of the State? There were arguments *pro* and *con* on all of these plans of proceeding. To the single school it could be objected that it would be hidden away from the sight of a majority of the people of the State; while the New York plan was

rather to business. He was a man of broad ideas and great generosity, and became deeply interested in the common schools. After reading Mrs. Austin's translation of M. Victor Cousin's *Report on the Schools of Prussia*, to promote education became a leading object of his life. His house in Boston was a centre for meetings and consultations relating to the subject, and for many years hardly an important step was taken relating to it without his advice. He secured Mr. Mann's election to the Secretaryship, as already related. In all his contributions for enlarging and improving the State system of common schools were not less than \$35,000. *Memoir of Edmund Dwight*, by Frances Bowen. — BARNARD, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. IV., pp. 5-22.

open to the serious criticism that the normal departments would almost of necessity be called secondary features of the academies in which they should be placed. So the Board, after due deliberation, wisely decided to establish three Normal schools — one in the northeastern, one in the southeastern, and one in the western part of the State, to be conducted as an experiment for three years. To supplement the slender funds, the Board called for local co-operation, and many towns made responses more or less generous, some of them even offering to provide all the means necessary for establishing and carrying on the schools, save alone the salaries of the teachers. The Board soon voted to open a school for ladies only at Lexington, and another school for both sexes at Barre. The Lexington school was twice removed before it found an abiding resting place, first to West Newton and then to Framingham. The Barre school was subsequently transferred to Westfield. The third of the Horace Mann Normal schools, more fortunate, was established at Bridgewater and never removed.

Here our narrative may well halt long enough to permit the mention of the splendid services to public education rendered by private generosity in the days of the Common School Revival. The rich gifts of Mr. Dwight, already mentioned, are good examples. They were by no means exceptional; other liberal-minded men, both in and out of Massachusetts, vied with him in his noble generosity. New York furnished a conspicuous example in the person of Gen. James Wadsworth, of Geneseo, who gave large sums to pro-

mote popular education in that State.¹ These facts were typical of the time. If, in recent years, such examples have been less frequent, it is doubtless due to the firm hold that the public school system has gained on society, thereby enabling the generosity of private benefactors to turn in other directions, rather than to the decay of public spirit and private liberality.

To follow the ups and downs of these schools to the close of Mr. Mann's secretaryship would trench too heavily upon our space. Nor is it at all necessary. To present the salient features of their history is all that is here called for.

The schools raised up enemies. Some people opposed them because they would draw candidates for teaching away from the academies. Some because they were new and untried. Some, and these principally teachers, because they had never attended such schools themselves. Some because the schools did not teach religion. Some because they were under Unitarian influence. Some because they did not approve of the demeanor of the lady students. Some because the schools were unnecessary and a needless expense. Naturally the close of the three years' experiment was looked forward to by Mr. Mann and his

¹ General Wadsworth was graduated at Yale College, and, taking to business, became the proprietor of a great landed estate in western New York. His educational activities assumed various forms. He is called the author of the New York system of district school libraries. He contributed liberally to the circulation of educational literature, often paying for whole editions of books or periodicals out of his own pocket, in order that they might be widely circulated. His gifts to popular education reached \$90,000. — BARNARD, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. V., pp. 389-406.

friends with much anxiety. It was perfectly clear that, if the schools were to be permanently continued, the State must fully adopt them as a part of its system of public instruction, for private support, individual or communal, would soon be withdrawn. The enemies of the schools were quick to take advantage of such of the old opposition to the Board of Education as had not died out, and the issue was far from clear. But, as before, the cause of progress triumphed. Rebounding from the depression of spirits that the period of anxiety enforced upon him, Mr. Mann wrote on March 3, 1842: "The brightest days which have ever shone upon our cause were yesterday and to-day. Yesterday resolves passed the House for granting \$6000 per year for three years to the Normal schools, and \$15 to each district for a school library, on condition of its raising \$15 for the same purpose." And again March 8: "The joy I feel on account of the success of our plans for the schools has not begun to be exhausted. It keeps welling up into my mind, fresh and exhilarating as it was the first hour of its occurrence. I have no doubt it will have an effect on my health as well as my spirits. The wearisome, depressing labor of watchfulness which I have undergone for years has been a vampire to suck the blood out of my heart and the marrow out of my bones. I should, however, have held on until death, for I felt my grasp all the time tightening, not loosening. I hope I may now have the power of performing more and better labor."

There was further opposition to the Normal schools, but with the renewal of the State appropriation in 1845

it practically died out. The legislature was not swerved from the path that Mr. Dwight's wise liberality had induced it to enter. In 1846 Mr. Mann saw, with feelings of lively satisfaction, every one of the three schools occupying its own house, — neat, commodious, and well adapted to its wants, — and the principals relieved of the annoyance, as he said, of carrying on Normal schools in *ab-normal* houses. At this time he wrote his friend, Rev. S. J. May, that the normal cause was so well anchored that no storm which its enemies could conjure up, would drive it from its moorings. Mr. Mann also expressed the belief that, at the time, Massachusetts was the only State in the Union where Normal schools could have been established, or where, if established, they would have been allowed to remain.

Mr. Mann was naturally solicitous about the selection of the Normal school teachers, and especially those for Lexington. The Board left the matter wholly in his hands. The choice made would be a factor in future history. Writing to George Combe, he calls the amount of anxiety that the selection of the two first principals caused him incredible. He went over all the men in New England by tale before he found those who would take the schools with a fair prospect of success in managing them. The problem was to do right and not offend the ultra-orthodox. For Lexington, he made choice of Rev. Cyrus ^P^rⁱ^e^r^c^e, finding him among the sands of Nantucket. The choice was a very happy one. A competent judge, who knew ^P^rⁱ^e^r^c^e on the South Shore, said he could always tell his scholars wherever he met them by their mental habits and mode of life. He excelled in training both the

mental and moral nature. Mann himself said of Pierce's power of winning the confidence of his pupils, that it surpassed what he had before seen in any school. "The exercises were conducted," he said, "in the most thorough manner: the principle being stated and then applied to various combinations of facts, so that the pupils were not only led to a clearer apprehension of the principle itself, but taught to look through combinations of facts, however different, to find the principle which underlies them all; and they were taught, too, that it is not the form of the fact which determines the principle, but the principle which gives character to the fact." Pierce was an ardent phrenologist. "The book to which, after the Bible, I owe most," he said, "is that incomparable work of George Combe, *On the Constitution of Man*. It was to me a most suggestive book, and I regard it as the best treatise on education and the philosophy of man which I ever met with."¹ Pierce's motto was, "Live to the truth."

The Massachusetts Normal schools certainly came without observation. The Lexington school opened July 3, 1839, in the midst of a heavy downpour of rain, with only three persons present for examination. The prospect was in no way encouraging. The first

¹ Cyrus Pierce was born at Waltham, Massachusetts, 1790, graduated from Harvard College in 1810, died 1850. He was bred to the ministry, but followed teaching as a life-work. He taught fifty years—eight years as a teacher of teachers. See a careful memoir by Rev. S. J. May; Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. IV., pp. 275-308. The establishment of the Normal schools is discussed in *The Common School Journal*, Vol. I., pp. 33-38. There the full course of study will be found.

quarter closed with only twelve pupils, and the number was never more than thirty-one for the first three years of the school's history. At the close of the first quarter the principal wrote in his journal, that the number of scholars had been fewer than he anticipated, but most of those who had attended had made a good beginning. A model school was established the second term. The other schools began with a larger attendance than Lexington; but all were small and grew slowly, at least, according to our present standard of measurement. At first the principal of the school was the only teacher. Still, the man who has a firm hold of cause and effect would hardly call that the day of small things.

The responsibility that rested upon Cyrus Pierce during the few years that he was at the head of the first Massachusetts Normal school was very great. It is not at all likely that he felt its full weight. It was, above all, important that the school should commend itself to the public favor from the very beginning. He, indeed, could not have wrecked the school and the cause at once, but another man in the same place could easily have done so. Dr. Barnard put on record the opinion, that had it not been for Cyrus Pierce the cause of Normal schools would have failed or have been postponed for an indefinite period.

After three years of service, Mr. Pierce retired for a time, because his excessive labors had broken down his health. The cause was also fortunate in his successor for the interval, the Rev. Samuel J. May. Mr. May's spirit is well illustrated in a bit of history that he himself relates of an occurrence at a convention of

teachers held in Essex County, Massachusetts, where he made an address on the management of schools, using as a motto the words, "Love the unlovely, and they will put their unloveliness away." "Several persons arose in quick succession, and declared this to be the most important suggestion they had yet received. Father G. said, *mirabile dictu*, that this was entirely new to him; that he had never before heard this method proposed; that he felt deeply that there was a great truth in it; and that he would go home and try to act in accordance with it. So said several others, and 'love the unlovely' was heard from various quarters as we were going out of the house along the road and after we had reached the hotel. I was really a little disconcerted to find that it was a new discovery to so many, that evil might be overcome with good in schools no less than elsewhere."¹

To the pedagogist the topic that has been reserved for the last is the most interesting of all—the studies of the Normal schools. The norm was now to be established. What should it be? A review and an extension of the common branches? The principles and methods of teaching and of school organization and government? The union of the two elements of study just mentioned? A narrow course or a broad one? Unfortunately, we have few transcripts of the thoughts of the men who met and answered these questions; but we know perfectly well what their answer was. That the influence of the Normal schools "might be wholly concentrated upon the preparation of teachers for our common schools," said Mr. Mann in one

¹ *Life of Samuel J. May*, pp. 181, 182.

of his annual addresses, "the almost doubtful provision that the learned languages should not be included in the list of studies taught therein was inserted in the regulations for their government; not because there was any hostility or indifference towards those languages, but because it is desirable to prepare teachers for our common schools rather than to furnish facilities for those who are striving to become teachers of select schools, high schools, and academies." Governor Everett, in his address on Normal schools, delivered at the opening of the school at Barre, September 5, 1839, speaking for the Board of Education, of which he was *ex officio* president, explained the plan adopted more fully.) There were no funds applicable, he said, to the expense of an extensive establishment; "and our young men and women could not generally afford the time requisite for a very long course of preparation, because the majority of our districts do not require, and would not support, teachers who, having been at great expense of time and money in fitting themselves for their calling, would need a proportionate compensation. We suppose that many of those who resort to these institutions will, at present, be able only to pass but a part of one year in the enjoyment of their advantages; but while provision is made for the shortest period for which any individual could reasonably wish to be received, a thorough course of instruction will also be arranged for those who desire to devote a longer time to their preparation as teachers." The governor proceeded to sketch out the course of instruction that had been agreed upon. Only his leading propositions need to be quoted.

(1) "A careful review of the branches of knowledge required to be taught in our common schools, it being, of course, the first requisite of a teacher that he should himself know well that which he is to aid others in learning." "The teacher must know things in a masterly way, curiously, nicely, and in their reasons."

(2) "The second part of instruction in a Normal school is the art of teaching. To know the matter to be taught, and to know it thoroughly, are of themselves, though essential, not all that is required. There is a peculiar art of teaching. The details of this branch are inexhaustible, but it is hoped that the most important principles may be brought within such a compass as to afford material benefit to those who pass even the shortest time at these institutions."

(3) "The third branch of instruction to be imparted in an institution concerns the important subject of the government of the school, and might perhaps more justly have been named the first. (The best method of governing a school—that is, of exercising such a moral influence in it as is most favorable to the improvement of the pupil—will form a very important part of the course of instruction designed to qualify teachers for their calling.)"

(4) "In the last place, it is to be observed, that in aid of all the instruction and exercises within the limits of the Normal school properly so called, there is to be established a common or district school as a school of practice, in which, under the direction of the principal of the school, the young teacher may have the benefit of actual exercise in the business of instruction."

The governor added: "Among the fundamental

principles laid down by the Board of Education for the government of the Normal schools, it has been provided that a portion of Scripture shall be daily read; and it is their devout hope that a fervent spirit of prayer, pervading the hearts of both principal and pupils, may draw down the divine blessing on their pursuits."¹

With a single exception this programme is the programme to which our Normal schools conform to-day. No mention is made of the history of education. Nothing is said indeed of the science of teaching, but Governor Everett means by the term "art," as here used, theory as well as practice. The plan agrees in essential features with the one that experience had already sanctioned in Prussia; but it is impossible to say how far it was shaped by a knowledge of this fact. Mr. Brooks, no doubt, had caused the plan of the Prussian Normal schools to be well understood by many persons in Massachusetts before the year 1839. Again, the plan was in perfect conformity with the dictates of practical wisdom under existing conditions. It was also in accord with the lessons of theory. The pupil's method of attacking a lesson or subject differs materially from the teacher's method of attack. The terms "academical" and "professional" suggest to our minds two very different points of view. The Normal school should not concern itself with the rudiments of the subjects taught in common schools; it is its business, as a distinguished thinker has said, to lead the student "to re-

¹ *Orationes and Speeches on Various Occasions.* Boston, 1870, Vol. II., pp. 326-332.

examine all his elementary branches in their relations to all human learning." "The Normal school," he continues, "therefore took up just this work at the beginning, and performed it well. It induced in the young men and women, preparing for the work of teaching, the habit of taking up the lower branches in their relations to the higher — taking them up constructively, as it were. For to study arithmetic in the light of algebra and geometry is to study it constructively. Its rules are derived from algebraic formulæ, and are to be demonstrated by algebraic processes. So the details of geography have their explanation in the formative processes of land and water as treated in physical geography and the sciences of which it is a compend. Of course this demands a high standard of preparation in those who enter the Normal school. The higher the better, for they should be able to review the lower branches in the light of all human learning."¹ The ideal here set up is a high one; but the principle is correctly stated. Indeed, the nature of a successful Normal school is determined by the work that it has to do. The most important question that the logic of the school does not answer is that of the relative measure of concrete and abstract teaching in its class and lecture rooms. The amplitude of the curriculum is a secondary question.

To assign or distribute the credit for establishing the norm fixed upon in 1839, would be a fruitless endeavor. When it appeared it had the sanction of

¹ Dr. W. T. Harris. See his oration delivered at Framingham, Massachusetts, July 2, 1889.

the Massachusetts Board of Education, and was probably the combined work of many minds. How far Mr. Pierce contributed to its formulation, we have no means of telling. He certainly was the first to give it practical effect, for he exemplified it in his own teaching. Once introduced, this norm tended to become a tradition running to the halls of every Normal school founded in the land; but this is quite as much due to the nature of the case, or the logic of the situation, as it was to the fact that this pattern had been shown in Lexington with the approval of Horace Mann.

It was Mr. Mann's habit to present every educational interest of the State as though, for the time, he thought it the great interest. Still it is not difficult to see that the Normal schools, after all, were the apple of his eye. He said at Bridgewater, in 1846, that the young ladies who attended that school were the only human beings whom he envied. The chapter may well close with this confession of faith, quoted from the same address:

“I believe Normal schools to be a new instrumentality in the advancement of the race.” I believe that without them free schools themselves would be shorn of their strength and their healing power, and would at length become mere charity schools, and thus die out in fact and in form. Neither the art of printing, nor the trial by jury, nor a free press, nor free suffrage, can long exist to any beneficial and salutary purpose without schools for the training of teachers; for if the character and qualifications of teachers be allowed to degenerate, the free schools will become

pauper schools, and the pauper schools will produce pauper souls, and the free press will become a false and licentious press, and ignorant voters will become venal voters, and through the medium and guise of republican forms an oligarchy of profligate and flagitious men will govern the land; nay, the universal diffusion and ultimate triumph of all-glorious Christianity itself must await the time when knowledge shall be diffused among men through the instrumentality of good schools. Coiled up in this institution, as in a spring, there is a vigor whose uncoiling may wheel the spheres."

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CHAPTER VII

THE REPORTS TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

MR. MANN's services were so great in several different departments of his work that it would be difficult to say of any one of them, "In this he was greatest of all." But among his numerous educational writings we cannot hesitate to select his annual Reports as the most valuable and lasting. They are twelve in number, one for every year that he held the office. They were made nominally to the State Board of Education, but really to the people of Massachusetts and of the country at large. They were widely published, in whole or in part, and still more widely read. Mr. George B. Emerson said of the great truths that the Reports contained: "They have already reached far beyond the limits of our narrow State. They are echoing in the woods of Maine and along the St. Lawrence and the Lakes. They are heard throughout New York and throughout all the West and the Southwest. A conviction of their importance has sent a Massachusetts man to take charge of the schools of New Orleans: they are at this moment regenerating those of Rhode Island. In the remotest corner of Ohio forty men, not children and women, but *men* meet together to read aloud a single copy of the Secretary's Reports which one of them receives; thou-

sands of the best friends of humanity of all sects, parties, and creeds in every State of the Union are familiar with the name of Horace Mann,"¹ etc.

The general character of the Reports was determined by the law creating the Board of Education, which has been summarized in a previous chapter. They were devoted partly to reporting the existing state of things, including the progress that was made from year to year, but especially to the discussion of present and coming questions with a view to creating public opinion and guiding public action. Since they were written many hundreds of similar reports have been made, most of which are now found only in libraries and in lumber rooms; but these have a perennial life. This is due especially to the great ability with which Mr. Mann treated his subjects, but partly to his fortunate position in the great column of common school reform. He dealt with the fundamental questions of this reform before they had lost any of the interest that grows out of novelty. He was a pioneer, and his work was the more interesting because a part of it consisted in creating interest.

It is proposed in this chapter to pass Mr. Mann's Reports in review, and when it is said that together they fill a thousand pages of the authorized edition of his *Life and Works*, the reason is given why the review must necessarily be a very hasty and imperfect one, comprising little more than a table of contents.²

¹ *Observations on "Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Hon. Horace Mann."* Boston, 1844, p. 15.

² It should be said that, in their original form as published in the *Annual Reports of the Board of Education* and *The Common School Journal*, the Reports are considerably more voluminous than

The First Report, 1837, written when he had been but five months in office, gives an account of the work that the Secretary has entered upon and describes the general condition of the schools in the State. He discloses the defects of the system as it exists, but avows the belief that the excellences vastly preponderate over the defects. His discussion is limited to four principal topics. The first one, Schoolhouses, he dismisses with few words, because he promises a special report on that subject. Secondly, he finds that the character of the school committees and the manner in which they discharge their duties are open to criticism. The law in regard to the examination of teachers and the visitation of schools is very generally disregarded. The multiplicity and diversity of books in the schools is a great evil. Of the children who are wholly dependent upon the common schools for instruction, one-third absent themselves from school in the winter and two-fifths in the summer. The average length of the school year is six months and twenty-five days. Thirdly, the apathy of the people themselves to common schools produces serious evils. ("It cannot be overlooked," he says, "that the tendency of the private school system is to assimilate our modes of education to those of England, where Churchmen and Dissenters, each sect according to its own creed, maintain separate schools in which children are taught from their tenderest years to wield the sword

when reproduced in *The Life and Works of Horace Mann*. Much of the most valuable matter for the purposes of the historian, as many statistics, is omitted by the editor as not having present interest.

of polemics with fatal dexterity; and where the Gospel, instead of being a temple of peace, is converted into an armory of deadly weapons for social, interminable warfare.") The rich and populous towns raise less money for common schools proportionately than the State as a whole. Fourthly, the teachers are as good as public opinion demands. The average wages of men teachers, including board, is \$25.44 a month, and of women teachers \$11.38. Outside of Boston there are but two hundred teachers in the common schools of the State who follow teaching regularly. Moral instruction is much neglected. Often no registers are kept in the schools, and illustrative apparatus is very small in quantity and poor in quality. The Supplementary Report on Schoolhouses, which soon followed, deals with that subject in a very comprehensive and intelligent manner. Mr. Mann anticipates in part ideas that are only now becoming generally current with regard to the concentration of pupils in country schools. The two documents together occupy one hundred and five pages, and are a valuable source of materials for the student of contemporary educational history.

The Second Report, 1838, first touches the condition of the schools. Here occurs the statement, "That the common school system of Massachusetts had fallen into a state of general unsoundness and debility," which gave some persons much offence. Some evidences of progress in various parts of the State are presented, and especially the arrangements that had been made in various counties and towns for courses of lectures dealing with teaching and other educa-

tional subjects. A law for the compensation of school committeemen has been passed, and registers have been introduced into most of the schools that had lacked them. However, the great subject of the Report is Methods of Teaching Spelling, Reading, and Composition. The a-b-c method of teaching reading is condemned, and the word method is recommended. Great stress is laid upon the mental element in reading in contradistinction to the purely mechanical element. The evils attending the use of the "extract" school readers are exposed, and valuable suggestions looking to something better are offered. Whole pages could be cut from this Report that are fully abreast of the best thought of to-day. There is a clear perception throughout of the place that use and wont hold in teaching the language-arts. The Report fills sixty-eight pages.

In the Third Report, 1839, Mr. Mann felicitates the Board upon the progress of the good cause, and emphasizes the fact that all improvements in the school system depend upon the people and school officers. He shows his humanitarian interest by remarking upon some efforts that have been made to reach, with the benefits of education, the children of persons employed upon the public works, and by drawing attention, as he had done once before, to the recently enacted law to protect, educationally speaking, children under the age of fifteen years employed in manufacturing establishments. Some remarks upon Massachusetts as a manufacturing State show that Mr. Mann had thoroughly grasped the influence of changing social elements upon public

education. He then takes up the most important subject that he has investigated during the year, that of libraries; but this subject is considered in a previous chapter and need not here detain us. A reference to Dr. Thomas Dick suggests the reflection that Mr. Mann had much in common with that philosopher and writer. His remark that if when scholars came to the name of Socrates, Luther, or Howard, they could turn to a biographical dictionary, etc., it would give a sense of reality to the business of the school and acquaint them with important facts, shows that he had thought of the relation which should exist between the library and the school. He did not, however, at all grasp our modern conception of teaching literature in the schools. This Report contains fifty-two pages.

The Fourth Report, 1840, portrays the evils, and particularly the physical evils, attending the multiplication of districts and the bringing of all grades of pupils together in the same schoolroom. A section of a road a mile and a half in length on which he had counted six such schoolhouses, furnishes him his text. A remedy is sought "in the establishment of Union schools wherever the combined circumstances of territory and population will allow; consolidation of two or more districts into one, where the Union system is impracticable; and, when the population is so sparse as to prevent either of these courses, then to break in upon the routine of the school, either by confining the young children for a less number of hours, or by giving them two recesses each half day." "The Union school is found to improve all the schools in the con-

stituent districts." For the rest, the Secretary considers the qualifications of teachers, constant and punctual attendance of pupils, the manifestation of parental interest in the schools, and the number and combination of pupils necessary to make a good school. To M. Victor Cousin's aphorism, "As is the teacher, so is the school," he proposes the addition, "As is the parent, so are both teacher and school." The general introduction of registers into the schoolhouses had revealed an unexpected amount of absenteeism and irregularity of attendance. The Report fills twenty-nine pages.

The Fifth Report, 1841, thirty-five pages, enters a new field. It is addressed, Mr. Mann says in one of his letters, to the faculty of acquisitiveness, or, as he says in the Report, he "shows the effect of education upon the worldly fortunes and estates of men—its influence upon property, upon human comfort and competence, upon the outward, visible, material interest or well-being of individuals and communities." This he holds to be the lowest view that can be taken of the benevolent influences of education; yet he had undertaken an investigation of the subject for the purpose of placing the truth upon a firm foundation, and so of gaining a point of advantage for making an appeal in behalf of education to those members of the community who were beyond the reach of a higher class of arguments. He reaches the conclusion to which all such inquiries have led, no matter where they have been made, that education is a great economical and moral factor in society. The replies that a number of competent business men had made to his circular

of inquiries add value to the Report. There is, however, one element in all such reasoning that escapes measurement, if not detection. The educated persons who figure in the tests, as a class, are superior in many other respects to the uninstructed who figure in the same tests, in natural ability, character, mode of living, and social surroundings. It is true that these other points of difference depend partly upon education; so the study is an excellent example of plurality of causes and of mutuality of cause and effect. Still, high as is his estimate of knowledge and teaching, Mr. Mann knows that they are not directly convertible into virtue and character. In a previous Report he says it had been ascertained, after an examination of great extent and minuteness, that in France most crimes were perpetrated in those provinces where most of the inhabitants could read and write; "their morals had been neglected, and the cultivated intellect presented to the uncultivated feeling not only a larger circle of temptations, but better instruments for their gratification."

The Sixth Report, 1842, containing one hundred and one pages, is just what the editor of *The Life and Works* calls it, a Dissertation on the Study of Physiology in the Schools. This is one of Mr. Mann's great themes. The Report furnishes a good example of his habit of seeking mental discipline and culture in practical utility. He presents statistics, showing the number of pupils in the schools pursuing studies above the elementary level, ranging from Greek to the history of the United States. He raises the very pertinent question whether the numerical order in which the

studies stand in the table corresponds to the natural order. The bent of his own mind, as well as interesting facts, are presented in the questions: "Can any satisfactory ground be assigned why algebra, a branch which not one man in a thousand ever has occasion to use in the business of life, should be studied by more than twenty-three hundred pupils, and bookkeeping, which every man, even the day laborer, should understand, should be attended to by only a little more than half that number? Among farmers and road-makers, why should geometry take precedence of surveying; and among seekers after intellectual and moral truth, why should rhetoric have double the followers of logic?" His thesis is that physiology should have priority among the studies that lie above the elementary level. He is not content simply to maintain this thesis, but writes what is little less than a practical treatise upon the applications of physiology. Such a sentence as this reminds one of Herbert Spencer's celebrated essay written years afterward: "Graduates of colleges and of theological seminaries, who would be ashamed if they did not know that Alexander's horse was named Bucephalus, or had not read Middleton's octavo volume upon the Greek article, are often profoundly ignorant of the great laws which God has impressed upon their physical frame, and which, under penalty of forfeiting life and usefulness, He has commanded them to know and obey."

— The Seventh Report, 1843. This occupies one hundred and eighty-eight pages of *The Life and Works of Horace Mann*. After devoting a few pages to Massachusetts, the Secretary passes at once to his European

tour. His itinerary was England, Ireland, and Scotland; Hamburg and Magdeburg; Berlin, Potsdam, Halle, and Weissenfels; Leipsic and Dresden; Erfurt, Weimar, and Eisenach; Frankfort, Nassau, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Baden; the Rhenish Provinces of Prussia; Holland, Belgium, and Paris. His progress was rapid, but he compressed a great amount of observation into the time at his disposal. As a rule, what pleased him most was what he saw in Germany. Describing his work here, he said: "Perhaps I saw as fair a proportion of the Prussian and Saxon schools as one would see of the schools in Massachusetts who should visit those of Boston, Newburyport, New Bedford, Worcester, Northampton, and Springfield." He gave close attention in visiting the schools to studies, discipline, methods of teaching, teachers, and the preparation of teachers.

Read a half century after it was written, the Seventh Report impresses the reader as being the work of an open-minded man, who is making a hurried examination of educational institutions that were before known to him only at second hand. The matter is copious; facts and ideas fairly crowd the pages. The logical arrangement is imperfect, the style is sometimes incorrect, but is always animated and often fervid. The writer is evidently intensely anxious to discover and report the exact truth. He wants to show his countrymen the schools just as he sees them. He has no prejudice against things that are foreign. "A generous and impartial mind," he says, "does not ask whence the thing comes, but what it is." The writer not only has a first-hand interest in the sub-

ject, but is also conscious that he is writing things new and strange to his audience. We must not, therefore, apply our common standards of judgment, and call much of the matter old and commonplace, but rather recreate the educational condition of the country at the time when the Report was written, and study its adaptation to the existing state of affairs. We are so familiar now with the word method of teaching reading, oral instruction, real instruction, elementary science in elementary schools, teaching that flows from the full mind of the teacher rather than from the pages of a book, object lessons, language exercises, geography built upon the basis of the child's environment, music and drawing, and teaching arithmetic by analysis rather than by rule — we are so familiar with these things that we may wonder at Mr. Mann's enthusiasm over them; but we must remember that a half century has wrought great changes in American schools, changes that in some measure have grown out of the very document that we are reading. The Report is interesting because it points out to us the origin and source of some of the most familiar features of our best schools. More than this, there are still thousands of schools where the "German methods," if introduced, would be quite as novel as they were in Massachusetts fifty years ago.

He finds abundant confirmation of some of his favorite ideas. He is never more interested than when describing the oral instruction, the enthusiasm and kindness of teachers, the absence of corporal punishment, and the discredit cast upon emulation,

that he saw in the schools of Germany. When dealing with the Normal schools, and the preparation and character of teachers in the same country, his admiration becomes unbounded. England gives him a new opportunity to present an old idea. The lack of a national system of education, in which the whole people participated, he declares to be full of admonition to the people of Massachusetts, for it was the state of things towards which they themselves, only eight years before, had been rapidly tending. In respect to the comparative merits of education at home and abroad, these two short paragraphs strike the keynote of the Report:

"On the one hand, I am certain that the evils to which our own system is exposed, or under which it now labors, exist in some foreign countries in a far more aggravated degree than among ourselves; and if we are wise enough to learn from the experience of others, rather than await the infliction consequent upon our own errors, we may yet escape the magnitude and formidableness of those calamities under which some other communities are now suffering.

"On the other hand, I do not hesitate to say that there are many things abroad which we at home would do well to imitate; things some of which are here as yet mere matters of speculation and theory, but which there have long been in operation, and are now producing a harvest of rich and abundant blessings."

Mr. Mann did not confine his studies to schools, in the accepted sense of that term. Some of his most interesting pages relate to such topics as Prisons, Reformatory Institutions, Asylums, Hospitals, and Schools

for the Defective Classes. On these points he was quite as well qualified to pass judgment as he was on methods of primary teaching. His habit of making moral "improvements" never for a moment forsook him. Nothing that he saw in the German schools offended him more than the manner in which they were made to support the State religious establishments. Mr. Mann was never happier than when, before an audience or at a writing table, he set himself to deal with some great human question, — a question that involved politics, education, morality, and religion; and in the impressive review of the Old and New Worlds, with which the Seventh Report closes, he is seen at his best.

The Seventh Report was not so much an important contribution to pedagogical science or criticism as an important contribution to pedagogical dynamics. It was so in more ways than one. It moved the schools of Massachusetts, and also of the country, while it brought on a controversy with the Boston schoolmasters that had much to do with fixing Horace Mann's place in the educational firmament.

The Eighth Report, 1844, first congratulates the Board of Education upon the growing excellence of the reports that are received from the local school committees. These reports exhibit abundant evidence that the prevailing views of what the common schools should be are far in advance of what the schools actually are. He finds much pleasure in the fact "that more and more of the children of the Commonwealth are educated in a purely republican manner — educated together under the same roof, on the same

seats, with the same encouragement, rewards, punishments, and to the exclusion of adventitious and artificial distinctions." Much to his satisfaction, too, the number of women teachers, both relatively and absolutely, is rapidly increasing. He sees in this fact the improvement of the schools and the elevation of women's estate in society. He comments upon teachers' institutes, the use of the Bible in schools, and vocal music. In connection with the legal power of towns to raise money for school purposes, he offers some remarks on the value of certain of the higher studies. He closes with one of his frequent eulogies upon education as contributing to the amelioration of the race. The Report contains fifty-eight pages.

The Ninth Report, 1845, one hundred and five pages, is one of the most interesting and valuable of the whole series. The writer begins with remarking upon the manner in which school moneys are apportioned among the districts, and lays down the sound principle of "equality of school privileges for all the children of the town, whether they belong to a poor district or a rich one, a large district or a small one." He comments upon the rapid growth of common schools in different parts of the country, commending especially the enterprise of New York. The great theme of the Report, however, is School Motives and Some Means for avoiding and extirpating School Vices. The elaborate discussion of this topic embraces, for the most part, matter that is oftener found in professional books than in State Reports. It reminds the reader of the old-fashioned treatise on the Theory and Practice of Teaching. The same may be said of other por-

tions of the Reports; reprinted in appropriate form, much of the matter would form useful manuals for the teacher's table. The observation that the idea of an offence is not unfrequently suggested by its prohibition, and that the law sometimes leads to its own infraction, is illustrated by the story of a priest and a hostler. At the close of his customary questions in the confessional, the priest one day asked the hostler if he had ever greased the teeth of his customers' horses to prevent them from eating their oats. The man replied that he never had, and had never heard of such a thing; but the next time he was confessed, the first offence that he had to mention was that of greasing the teeth of his customers' horses. The Report closes with an exposition of the Pestalozzian or inductive method of teaching.

The Tenth Report, 1846, thirty-six pages, first deals with the history and development of the Massachusetts public school system. Mr. Mann then raises the question as to the ground upon which this system rests. He sees clearly that the foundation upon which it was placed by the Puritan Fathers in 1647 was much too narrow, because not all of the people of the Commonwealth are Protestant in religion. American independence brought forward a new argument—the relation of popular education to republican government; but to a monarchist this would be a reason for destroying free schools and not for fostering them. Accordingly, a broader ground must be sought. He mentions the economical argument and the ethical one, and says the general failure, the world over, to support free schools must be found in false

ideas respecting the right to property more than anywhere else. After some pages of analysis, he propounds the three following propositions, as describing the broad and ever-enduring foundation that must underlie a strong and permanent system of common schools: (1) "The successive generations of men taken collectively constitute one great commonwealth." (2) "The property of this commonwealth is pledged for the education of all its youth up to such a point as will save them from poverty and vice, and prepare them for the adequate performance of their social and civil duties." (3) "The successive holders of this property are trustees bound to the faithful execution of their trust by the most sacred obligations, and embezzlement and pillage from children and descendants have not less of criminality, and have more of meanness, than the same offences when perpetrated against contemporaries."

In this Report, as originally published, Mr. Mann condemns the practice of dividing towns into school districts, which sprang up in the last century. He considers the law of 1789, which authorized towns so to divide themselves, the most unfortunate law on the subject of common schools ever enacted in the State. He relates that already several towns have abolished their districts and assumed the administration of their schools in their corporate capacity, which was the beginning of a movement in the direction of concentrating school authority that is now assuming large proportions.¹

¹ After Mr. Mann had left the office, the State published, under his editorship, by the express authority of the legislature, the fol-

-- The Eleventh Report, 1847, eighty-one pages, is almost wholly given up to another of Secretary Mann's special investigations. He sent out a circular to practical educators, chosen for their experience and soundness of judgment, inquiring what, in their opinion, would be the efficiency, in the promotion of social and moral character, of a good common school education conducted on the cardinal principles of the New England system.¹ The valuable replies of these experts fill several pages, and constitute the texts of a still more valuable discussion by the Secretary. It is needless, perhaps, to remark that the whole Report breathes the ardent faith in the remedial power of good common schools that characterized the ardent reformers of a half century ago. Referring to the educational activity of the time, Mr. Mann significantly says there could be no hazard in affirming that far more had been spoken and printed, heard and read, on this theme within the last twelve years than ever before were it all put together, since the beginning of the Colonies.

-- The Twelfth Report, 1848, is in some respects the *magnum opus*, filling one hundred and eighteen pages of *The Life and Works*. Mr. Mann, as Secretary, now takes leave of the Board of Education, the public, and the cause of common schools. He naturally becomes

lowing work: *The Massachusetts System of Common Schools, being an Enlarged and Revised Edition of the Tenth Annual Report of the First Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education.* Boston, 1849.

¹ These experts were John Griscom, D. P. Page, Solomon Adams, Jacob Abbott, F. A. Adams, E. A. Andrews, Roger S. Howard, Catharine E. Beecher.

discursive and comprehensive in his last message. His great theme, he thus announces: "The Capacities of our Present School System to Improve the Pecuniary Condition and to Elevate the Intellectual and Moral Character of the Commonwealth." To a great extent it is a résumé of matter that he had before presented. As submitted to the Board, the Report contained some statistics that make a modest showing of certain aspects of progress that the schools had made since 1837.

Mr. Mann says in his final Report that when he first assumed the duties of the Secretaryship two courses lay open before him. One was, to treat the school system of the State as though it were perfect; to praise teachers for a skill they had had no chance of acquiring and did not possess; to applaud towns for the munificence they had not shown; in a word, to lull with flattery a community that was already sleeping. The other course was to advocate an energetic and comprehensive system of education; to seek for improvements both at home and abroad; to expose justly but kindly the incompetence of teachers; to inform and stimulate school committees in respect to their duty; to call for money adequate to the work to be done. He said the one course would for a time have been ignobly popular; the other was imminently perilous. Horace Mann saw all this, but he did not hesitate. Duty left him no option; the only way to end prosperously was to begin righteously. The story of his experience is disheartening in parts; but, taken together, it is a mighty stimulant to all teachers and school officers to do their duty. Moreover, teachers

and school officers should not miss the spirit in which he did his work. "The education of the whole people in a republican government," he said, "can never be attained without the consent of the whole people. Compulsion, even if it were desirable, is not an available instrument. Enlightenment, not coercion, is our resource. The nature of education must be explained. The whole mass of mind must be instructed in regard to its comprehension and enduring interests. We cannot drive our people up a dark avenue, even though it be the right one; but we must hang the starry lights of knowledge about it, and show them not only the directness of its course to the goal of prosperity and honor, but the beauty of the way that leads to it."

These résumés reveal in part what the Reports themselves reveal in full — the nature, the range, and the limitations of Horace Mann's educational genius. They present him to the world as an educational statesman rather than a philosophical educator or a trained pedagogist. The Reports are among the best existing expositions, if, indeed, they are not the very best ones, of the practical benefits of a common school education both to the individual and the State. The student or educator, the journalist or politician, who is seeking the best arguments in favor of popular education, will find them here.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONTROVERSY WITH BOSTON SCHOOLMASTERS

THE judicious reader at the present day reads Mr. Mann's celebrated controversy with the Boston schoolmasters, or their controversy with him, with mingled feelings of satisfaction and pain. It throws much light upon the state of education in Massachusetts and Boston, and particularly upon the teaching profession at the time of the Common School Revival. It presents studies of character. Again, it has a considerable interest merely as a piece of controversy. But when all is said, these feelings are shrouded with regret, to use a mild word, that the great reform should have been marred by an uncalled-for onslaught upon the foremost reformer by prominent men in the teaching profession. The story must be told once more, because it is a part of the history, and particularly because, in the end, it promoted the reform. But first let us see why, as has been stated in a previous chapter, the controversy lay in the nature of things and was in fact unavoidable.

Schools are a conservative engine, and teaching is a conservative profession. The causes of these facts lie deep in the very nature of the work to be done. Much of the work of the elementary school is to put the pupil into proper relations with the civilization about him.

Teaching is also a self-conscious profession, rendering its votaries keenly alive to criticism, and, some would say, not conducive to the development of proper sense of proportion and perspective. In 1843 Massachusetts, as she reflected upon her Puritan-descended system of public schools, was filled with complacency. Teachers shared in the opposition that the creation of the Board of Education had provoked, some of them moved by their religious feelings, but more, probably, by professional bias. Had not the schools gotten on very well without such a Board for two hundred years? The setting aside of Mr. Carter for Mr. Mann in 1837 still rankled in some bosoms. The one was a teacher, the other a lawyer and politician; and some teachers, no doubt, looked upon Mr. Mann's presence in the chief educational office of the State much as a pious Jew would have regarded the presence of a Gentile in the palace of the High Priest at Jerusalem. What could a man not bred to the trade teach the teachers of Boston? Then Mr. Mann, looking at his subject broadly and setting forth his ideas in an oratorical mode, gave quick offence to some minds. His winged words stuck in the wounds that they had made. Such phrases as "incompetent teachers," "ignorance of teachers," "depressed state of common schools," "sleepy supervision," deficiencies of teachers in the "two indispensable prerequisites for their office," and the Massachusetts common school system "fallen into a state of general unsoundness and debility" were carefully treasured up against a possible day of reckoning. Intent upon improvement, the Secretary naturally dwelt more upon the defects

of the schools than upon their excellencies. His consuming duties prevented his coming into close relations with many teachers in their work, and so of measuring, or even discovering, some of the difficulties under which they labored. He knew that teaching the young was a grand theme for the platform and for a Board report; they knew by daily experience that it was a most difficult and trying art. The Normal schools, as has been already related, were an offence to many, as well within as without the teaching profession. Even the name "Normal" was held up to scorn.

The masters of the Boston schools were men of education and character, some of them possessing unusual ability; they had experience in their work, and were devoted to it; they were conservators of the things educational that time had tested and approved; they deserved well of the community that they served, and received that respect for the teacher which was traditional in New England. The Boston schools were the best of their kind. Even those critics who contended that the schools of the State had tended to deteriorate down to 1837, made an exception in favor of Boston. The masters were a part of the renown of the city, and they knew it. But, unfortunately, the Boston schools had not been touched by the new movement. They merely kept on in the old way, respectable, indeed, but slow. Down to 1843 it is not probable that any equal group of schools in the State had been less influenced by Mr. Mann's work than these schools. In the mean time the schools of other cities and towns were in quick motion. As a con-

temporary writer put it, other cities began to shame the Capital, and some people began to demand what was the matter with Boston. The masters felt uncomfortable in view of this state of things, and ascribed their discomfort to Mr. Mann, whose work they began to challenge. Accordingly, the Boston schools and the Boston masters, while the best of their kind, were still a part of the very system that Mr. Mann wished to reform. So the masters went on in their self-conscious way, appropriating to themselves the Secretary's sharp criticisms, until the cup of their endurance was filled to the brim. The Seventh Report caused it to overflow. The Secretary had indeed used due diligence not to wound their sensibilities. He did not bring the schools of Massachusetts into formal comparison with those of Prussia, the schools of Boston with those of Dresden; but to their sensitive nerves this did not mend matters. He held up the mirror, and they could not refrain from looking into it and seeing what other people saw. Or as the writer just referred to said: "His readers made the application fast enough. The Boston teachers saw that they were likely to lose a large share of the reputation they had inherited, and to be beset by still stronger importunities for reform. Thus urged, they resolved to quit their neutral position, and to act vigorously in the offensive. They would appear as the champions of conservatism, and do battle stoutly against the radical and innovating tendencies of the times."¹

¹ See an article by Prof. Francis Bowen, *The North American Review*, January, 1845, pp. 224-248. This article is an excellent contemporary view of the controversy.

Overcoming their inertia, thirty-one of the masters sent out to the world a pamphlet of one hundred and forty-four pages, called *Remarks*, etc.,¹ the purpose of which was declared to be "in some degree to correct erroneous views and impressions, and thus tend to promote a healthy tone in public sentiment in relation to many things connected with the welfare of our common schools." The masters were organized in a society called the Principals' Association, and it was a committee of this Association that sent out the pamphlet. The style and temper of the *Remarks* betray a plurality of authorship. The preface is signed by the thirty-one masters who united in the act, and differences of opinion among them are at once confessed and excused in the sentence, "We have no object in view but the public good, and for that *all* are ready to yield things of minor consideration." It is plain that the masters think their enemies are upon them, and that they must sink differences of opinion and make a united stand against the common foe. To borrow a figure used at the time, they wished to act in solid column, so that they might make up in weight what they lacked in skill and prowess.

Before we go farther we should guard against a possible misunderstanding. Not all the teachers of Massachusetts or of Boston passed the Board of Education and its Secretary by with averted face. On the contrary, both Board and Secretary had no more enthusiastic supporters than were to be found in the educational profession. Still, it remains a fact, and

¹ *Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Hon. Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Boston, 1844.*

one full of admonition, that the Common School Revival found some of its most formidable foes in its own household.¹

The *Remarks* are divided into four subdivisions, each division proceeding mainly but not wholly from a single hand. The first division, which is a sort of general introduction covering thirty-eight pages, is much the most offensive part of the document in substance and in tone. It is a general arraignment of the Secretary of the Board of Education. The writer begins with the customary eulogy upon the Massachusetts schools. These schools had ever been the pride and glory of the State, and the good cause was never more prosperous than at the time the Board of Education was formed. Great stress is laid upon the fruits of observation and experiment in teaching, and scorn is heaped upon literary and moral amateurs who repudiate the notion that experience is the best schoolmaster. The infant school, phrenology, the monitorial school, and the Normal school are mentioned as illustrations of the vagaries of the amateurs. The tone of the writer is the familiar one that the regulation schoolmaster so easily falls into, viz., that

¹ It has sometimes been said that the Massachusetts State Teachers' Association, 1844, was organized in a spirit of opposition to the Board and its policy. This, Mr. Elbridge Smith, in his historical address delivered at the fifteenth anniversary of the organization of the association, distinctly denies. Of the eighty-five teachers who participated in the organization, he says, only fifteen were opponents of Mr. Mann. At the first meeting resolutions expressing approbation of the Board were tabled without discussion; at the second meeting such resolutions were unanimously adopted. — *Fifty-eighth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education*, p. 476.

the man who is outside the sacred profession has no claim to the serious attention of experienced teachers. And this in total forgetfulness of the fact that education lies proximate to every great source of activity, and that multitudes of men and women who are not teachers are perfectly competent critics of educational results, if not of the methods and processes of teaching. It is charged over and over again that Mr. Mann has wantonly disparaged the teachers of Massachusetts, and of Boston, and his disparagement is repelled with an air of injured innocence. Mr. Mann, Dr. Howe, Mr. Emerson, Cyrus Pierce, and others have formed a mutual admiration society, alternately praising one another. Advantage is taken of every chance expression that can be twisted to answer the writer's purpose; words are torn from their connection, and passages widely separated are brought together. Mr. Mann's competency to pass judgment upon schools is denied, and the faithfulness of his descriptions is sometimes questioned. At times the writer takes on an air of patronage. In view of his antecedents, it is not perhaps strange that Mr. Mann has done injustice to the schools of his native State. He had not extended a warm sympathy to teachers. The casual mention of Boston leads the writer to ask what the Secretary knew about the schools of Boston. "With one voice the answer is, he knows comparatively nothing." In his preference for what was foreign, he was not less severe in reflecting upon his own country than Madame Trollope herself had been. It is assumed that Mr. Mann's general criticisms are to be taken in specific senses, and that whatever he describes he approves

unless he explicitly states the contrary. Whether the Secretary praises, blames, or keeps silent, he has Boston in his eye. For example, Mr. Maun, speaking of the intense activity that he had seen in certain schools of Scotland, said the schools that he left at home must be regarded almost as dormitories, and the children as hibernating animals in comparison; which is taken for proof conclusive, as he did not state the contrary, that he approved the agonism of these schools, and considered the Boston schools dormitories for animals. But we need not go farther; we may dismiss this division of the *Remarks* with the words employed by the contemporary writer: captious, vulgar, and abusive, abounding in glaring misrepresentations, calculated to throw odium upon the Board of Education and its Secretary, and to excite the prejudices of the ignorant.

The other divisions are in a much less shrill tone than the first one. While they are by no means free from exhibitions of ill temper, misrepresentation, and false imputations, they cannot fairly be called abusive; they are real discussions of serious questions, and not mere ebullitions of spleen. There is not merely the semblance of argument, but real argument. The writers do not deal so much with Mr. Mann's flowing descriptions and casual remarks as with principles of education and methods of teaching, concerning which they and Mr. Mann and many other persons disagreed. Mr. Mann's incompetency to pass judgment upon things didactic is indeed still assumed, and the assumption is maintained that he approves of things which he has merely described. Sometimes, it must

be admitted, these calmer writers score points against the Secretary in the game.

The second writer devotes seventeen pages to the Prussian mode of instruction. It will not be claimed that, even to-day, a final adjustment of oral instruction and text-book instruction in elementary schools has been reached; much less had such an adjustment been reached in 1843. It is not an easy question, and no fixed, unvarying answer is possible. Something will depend upon the study, the teacher, the pupil, and attendant circumstances. Two things, however, are obvious to discerning educators: text-book grind by the pupil and loose, flowing talk by the teacher are equally to be avoided. Pupils will not become scholars unless they apply their own powers to study and learn how to use books; nor can they learn how to use books without actually using them. Still the present successors of the thirty-one Boston schoolmasters will not deny that, under the old régime, text-book work was in excess, that there was much need of a capable teacher to interpret the printed page, and that Germany was far nearer right than Massachusetts.

Part third, which embraces forty-seven pages, is devoted to the investigation of modes of teaching children to read. Before he went abroad Mr. Mann had committed himself to the opinion that no thorough reform could be looked for in the common schools unless the alphabetic method of teaching reading was abolished. He believed in what was then called the "New" Method, now the "Word" Method, and his observations in Germany confirmed him in

his belief. It would seem that this subject certainly could be discussed by educators with calmness, and it is surprising to see the amount of heat that it is made to give forth in this controversy. We need not examine the laborious arguments *pro* and *con*. If time has not passed finally on the method of teaching children to read, it has certainly given judgment against the alphabetic method, as that was used fifty or sixty years ago. Perhaps there is reason to question whether the various modes of teaching reading, in the hands of good teachers, are as widely different as some writers and lecturers who describe them would have us think; also whether more does not depend upon the skill of the teacher than the technique of the method. It is certain, at all events, that children *did* learn to read in the old-fashioned way. It is certain, also, that the subject was still an open one in 1843, and that no man should now be condemned simply because he then took the wrong side.

The last division of the *Remarks*, forty-three pages, is devoted to the subject of school discipline—a theme that lay very near to Mr. Mann's heart. It was also the most important of all the specific questions that were mooted in this controversy.

From the time of his entry into the Secretary's office, if not from a still earlier date, Mr. Mann had grown increasingly distrustful of the use of corporal punishment in schools, and his observations abroad strengthened this feeling. The account that he gives of the regimen of kindness and conciliation in the German schools is one of the most vivid passages to be found in the Seventh Report. Calling to mind

three things pertaining to the Prussian and Saxon schools about which he could not be mistaken, he said: "Though I saw hundreds of schools and thousands, — I think I may say within bounds tens of thousands of pupils, — I never saw one child undergoing punishment or arraigned for misconduct. I never saw one child in tears from having been punished, or from fear of being punished." Whether this was really so remarkable as he thought — whether teachers and pupils are not commonly on their good behavior when visitors from foreign countries are making their rounds, is a question that the writer in the *Remarks* presses sharply; but there can be no doubt that, in respect to physical coercion, the German schools of the time were far in advance of the Massachusetts schools. Still more, it is almost superfluous to add that Mr. Mann's views on the subject were in accord with the growing sentiment of the time, or that they were an integral part of his philosophy of human nature and human conduct. They were in accord, also, with his inherited character, for, in the language of phrenology, his "Benevolence" was remarkably large. It is not strange, therefore, that he shrank from the use of physical force in managing children, and recommended a principal reliance upon moral suasion. He was not, indeed, a non-resistant, and did not go to the extreme of saying that the rod should never be seen in the schoolmaster's hand; on the contrary, he distinctly admitted that in the schools as well as in society at large when gentle means failed material force must be the *ultima ratio*; but this necessity was mainly owing, in his view, to

the present imperfections of schools and of society. Like Moses, he yielded something to the hardness of men's hearts. He believed in the increasing perfectibility of men; and so looked forward to a time when reason would so abound and love so prevail that the rod could be relegated to the museum of cast-off school appliances. Indeed, his optimism was so fervid that the glorious vision of the prophet relative to the Branch out of the Rod of Jesse, they shall neither hurt nor destroy in all the Holy Mountain, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea, seemed to him capable of practical realization. But this was not the faith, and still less was it the practice of American teachers in 1843. Not unnaturally therefore those portions of the Seventh Report that deal with this subject, when the schoolmasters wrote the *Remarks*, came in for extended animadversion.

V The writer of this division lays down the good old doctrine: "All school order, like that of the family and society, must be established upon the basis of acknowledged authority, as a starting point"; it is not merely the teacher's right, but his duty as well, to establish and enforce such authority "by an appeal to the most appropriate motives that a true heart and sound mind may select among all those which God has implanted in our nature"; the higher are always to be preferred to the lower motives, but none are to be rejected "which circumstances may render fitting, not even the fear of physical pain; for we believe," adds the writer, "that that, low as it is, will have its place, its proper sphere of influence, not for a limited period

merely, till teachers can become better qualified and society more morally refined, but while men and children continue to be human; that is, so long as schools and schoolmasters and governments and laws are needed."

At this distance it is hard to see anything very dangerous in this writer's fundamental ideas, or to discover any great difference between them and those ideas which Mr. Mann himself had often avowed. In application and details there was more difference between the two men. But Mr. Mann saw things very differently. To him the fourth division, leaving the personal qualities of the first one out of view, was the most objectionable part of the whole pamphlet.

If the Boston masters expected to have the last word, they counted without their host. The *Remarks* appeared in August, and in October Mr. Mann put out a pamphlet of one hundred and seventy-six pages in reply.¹ Professor Bowen's contemporary characterization of this *Reply* as a whole is a perfectly just one. The Secretary, he said, had not only vindicated himself, but had retaliated upon his assailants with terrible severity; though he disliked the use of the rod for children, he evidently had no objection to whipping schoolmasters, and in this case he had certainly plied the birch with remarkable dexterity and strength of arm; and if the reader did not keep in mind the un-

¹ *Reply to the "Remarks" of Thirty-one Boston Schoolmasters on the Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education.* Boston, Wm. B. Fowle and Nahum Capen, 1844.

provoked nature of the attack, and the importance of the interests which it was meant to injure, he would be tempted to pity the unhappy persons exposed to such a merciless punishment.

Near the beginning, Mr. Mann makes a confession to his critics that throws a sidelight upon the origin of the controversy. "A redundancy of metaphor and illustration," he said, "is a fault of my mind. Did they know how much I strive against it, how many troops of rhetorical figures I drive away daily, and bar the door of my imagination against them, they would pity rather than reproach me for this infirmity." Still, he has no pity for such defects of mind as they have shown towards him.

In dealing with the first part of the *Remarks*, although he is terribly severe, Mr. Mann does not lay himself open to just criticism. He had been deeply wounded; in his friends, in himself, in his office, and in the cause of education. But after he passes page seventy-three not so much can be said. When he takes up the more strictly pedagogical aspects of the subjects of contention, he is not so easily master of the situation. He is sometimes feeble in argument, sometimes unfair, and often declamatory; he calls names, and much of the time speaks in a strident voice. He denounces what are at most matters of opinion with the energy of a Hebrew Prophet. Sometimes he arrogates too much to himself, and then, again, his personal remarks are not always in good taste. When he comes to the division of school discipline, his mind is wrought up to a very high pitch of excitement. All unconsciously to himself, Mr. Mann, in composing the

Reply, was furnishing an interesting illustration of his own theory of moral government. His handling of the schoolmasters can be justified only upon the principle that, in emergencies, compassion and soft words as disciplines for men must give place to severe rebuke and even severer punishment. He closes with an eloquent appeal to all men to unite in an educational awakening that is most urgently demanded by the needs of society.

Near the close of the *Reply*, the Secretary gives a brilliant and even pathetic summary of "the unexampled trials and difficulties" that he had encountered in his office. He found an almost unanimous opinion among intelligent men as to the necessity of great improvements in the common schools, but also the most opposite and irreconcilable notions as to the best methods for effecting these improvements. He had been brought into contact with every variety of opinion, every form of personal predilection and pecuniary motive, and such contact sometimes became conflict. The improvements made in the schools cost large sums of money, and the new appropriations and taxes (amounting to \$100,000 annually) had aroused the serious opposition of many tax-payers, some of whom had suggested that the Secretary should be compelled to foot the bills. In 1837 there were in use in the schools three hundred different kinds of text-books, while not more than twenty or thirty were needed; and the efforts of the Secretary to produce uniformity, through official advice to local authorities, had brought down upon him book compilers, copyright owners, and venders, who found their sales daily diminishing.

The school district libraries, while regarded with greater unanimity of opinion than any other branch of the system, had still provoked much opposition on account of their cost and the character of the books chosen. Owing to the raising of the standard of the schools, many old teachers had been thrown out of employment; and although these had on the whole acted a very magnanimous part, "yet it could not be expected that every involuntary ex-teacher would be able to adjust, in a measure wholly satisfactory to himself, the moral relations between the loss of his monthly stipend and the well-being of his neighbor's children, or would wholly forgive any individual to whom the failure of his income might be, in part at least, attributed." The improvement of the common schools had tended to diminish private schools, and the conductors of such schools could not always think well of the cause that led to their personal losses. Politics also and religion had proved to be more or less disturbing elements. These were a few of the contending interests in the fierce arena into which he had been thrown. Men had not waited for official acts deserving of condemnation, but had assailed his private convictions. Sometimes he made reply to assailants, and sometimes he did not. But never did he answer with such vigor as he answered the Boston schoolmasters. Here he felt that he had been wounded in the house, or at least in what should have been the house, of his friends. Reviewing the whole matter, he said he deeply mourned that he had not had more wisdom wherewith to meet the trying emergencies that had arisen; but he had no occasion

to mourn that in any instance he had not used all the foresight and wisdom and prudence with which Heaven had endowed him. He was ready to lay down his office in favor of any man who would devote himself as unreservedly to its interest as he had done. When the Board of Education were ready to dispense with his services, he was ready to dispense with their appointment.

Mr. Mann's invitation to the masters to meet him on the platform of practical work and to forego controversy was not accepted. In December, 1844, the Association appointed a committee to rejoin to the *Reply*, and in due course of time the *Rejoinder* appeared.¹ This pamphlet also consists of four parts. The first section, consisting of fifty-five pages, is devoted to the more general features of the controversy; the second section, fifty-six pages, the third, forty-four pages, and the last, sixty-one pages deal with the topics presented in the corresponding divisions of the *Remarks*. Two of the thirty-one masters had withdrawn from the controversy, leaving twenty-nine to concur in the *Rejoinder*. Save alone the first one, the several divisions were written by the men who had contributed the corresponding parts of the earlier pamphlet. The new publication contains some apology, some explanation; the old views are, in the main, restated, but in a less offensive manner and tone; the writers, or at least some of them, are plainly aware

¹ *Rejoinder to the "Reply" of the Hon. Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, to the "Remarks" of the Association of Boston Masters upon his Seventh Annual Report. Boston, 1845.*

that they are rowing against the stream of public opinion.

Mr. Mann hastened to publish his *Answer* to the *Rejoinder*.¹ It appeared in August, 1845, a pamphlet of one hundred and twenty-four pages. In the early part of this document, he gives some interesting history pertaining to the progress of the controversy. When he learned that some of the Boston teachers had taken offence at the Seventh Report, he sought an interview with them, in order, if possible, to prevent an open rupture. His friends, also, interposed their good offices, having the same object in view. Again, when he had published his *Reply*, he offered a solid and enduring peace. But in both cases his overtures of peace were refused; in the second one, after having been first accepted. Under these circumstances, he had no alternative but to answer their renewed attacks. Duty to himself, to his friends, to his office, to the Board of Education, to the cause he represented, all demanded that he should expose once more the fallacy of their arguments and the falsity of their allegations. Referring to the charge that he had been unduly severe, he said the accusation of mental incapacity had been preferred against him, and he did not think himself under any special obligations to furnish his critics, by the tameness and impotence of his replies, with gratuitous evidence to support their charge.

¹ *Answer to the "Rejoinder" of Twenty-nine Boston Schoolmasters, part of the "Thirty-one" who published "Remarks" on the Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Boston, 1845.*

So far as the principals were concerned, the *Answer* closed the controversy. Charges of misrepresentation, garbling, ignorance, prevarication, and falsehood are thickly sprinkled over the pages of the documents. Still, the two last pamphlets are in better temper than the two first. In his last pamphlet, Mr. Mann summed up, in three propositions, his code in respect to discipline: "First, that it is the duty of the State to adopt measures for qualifying teachers. Second, that school committeemen are sentinels stationed at the door of every schoolhouse to see that none but the very best teachers who can possibly be procured enter the schoolroom. And third, that it is the duty of the teacher in governing his school to exhaust all the higher motives and agencies that he can command; but if these should in any case prove unavailing, he may then lawfully resort to corporal punishment as the supplement of all the rest."

This controversy attracted much attention, and made a deep impression upon the public mind. It had much to do with fixing Horace Mann's place in educational history. The champion of the new régime had met the champions of the old and overthrown them in the arena of public debate. The teachers of the new régime completed the overthrow in the schoolhouses. Nowhere, perhaps, did the controversy lead to more direct and beneficial results than in Boston. As a matter of course, the eyes of the State and, to a degree, of the country were now fixed upon the schools of that city. If there be truth in the proverb, the ears of the Boston masters must have been kept continually burning. For example, Mr. Emerson, com-

menting upon the conduct of the masters in sending out the *Remarks*, observes: "Here they are seeking to make us satisfied with the schools and teachers in methods and motives as they have been and as they are." He asks: "Is it possible that these gentlemen are disappointed in the declarations of the Seventh Report? Could they really expect that a person who had seen the best schools abroad would come home prepared to pronounce panegyrics upon the grammar schools of Boston? Can it be that they are not aware that many of their fellow-citizens look upon these schools as doing very little, as compared with what might be done? Have they learned nothing from the almost uniform look of disappointment with which intelligent strangers leave their schools?"¹

The Boston public now began to take a new interest in their schools, while the school committee learned to trust less in the masters and to look more closely into things for themselves. The masters of the grammar and writing schools had formed a close corporation, looking out for one another's interests, dictating the election of masters and teachers, and controlling to a great degree the educational policy of the city. But their power soon began to break under the new public scrutiny. Some much needed reforms began to take their rise. So far as Boston was concerned, nothing gave Mr. Mann so much pleasure as a new rule relating to corporal punishment that the school committee soon adopted. This rule made it the duty of the masters and teachers in charge of the schools

¹ *Observations on "Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Hon. Horace Mann."*

to keep a record of all inflictions of such punishment, subject to the committee's quarterly examination; the record to give, as exactly as might be practicable, the nature of the offence, the age and sex of the pupil, the instrument employed, and the degree of severity used. Corporal punishment was defined to mean all inflictions of physical pain. It may be added that the amount of whipping in the Boston schools had been well-nigh incredible.

Mr. Mann's letters written at this time throw much light upon his controversy with the schoolmasters. In April, 1844, he wrote to George Combe that his Report had met with unusual favor, but there were owls who, to adapt the world to their own eyes, would always keep the sun from rising. Again, December 1, he said the very things that made his Report acceptable to others, made it hateful to the Association of schoolmasters. Meantime his reply was working; all the papers but the ultra-orthodox ones were earnest against the masters; the issue would be carried into the election, for the voters were determined to have better schools and less flogging. In July, 1845, Mr. Mann wrote to S. J. May that the *Rejoinder* had fallen from the press dead born; two orthodox papers had tried to endorse it, thinking that whatever was directed against a Unitarian was for the glory of God. Writing to Combe in September of the same year, Mann said the school committee had divided on the issues that had been raised, the old members looking upon the criticism that was current as a reflection upon themselves; there was also a tendency in the community to divide into two parties, "young Boston"

and the *laudatores temporis acti*. Still a great change for the better had been effected; it was estimated that corporal punishment had fallen off twenty-five per cent; the masters had brought on the annual election in advance of the ordinary time; but, notwithstanding the most earnest efforts on the part of the conservatives and those who wore their eyes in the back part of their heads, four of the number had been turned out — a work which twelve months before would have been deemed as impossible as to turn four peers out of the House of Lords. And then the next month, referring to a report of the Boston School Committee on the grammar and writing schools, he wrote to Cyrus Pierce: "What a pile of thunderbolts! Jupiter never had more lying by his side when he had ordered a fresh lot wherewith to punish the wicked. If the masters see fit to assail me again, I think I can answer them in such a way as to make it redound to the glory of God."

A curious light is thrown upon the screen by this brief communication that Mr. Mann sent to Dr. Jarvis in the midst of the controversy: "Can you do anything for a brain that has not slept for three weeks? I can feel the flame in the centre of my cranium blazing and flaring round just as you see that of a pile of brush burning on a distant heath in the wind. What can be done to extinguish it?"

Mr. Mann contributed passages to this long controversy that his most devoted admirers cannot read to-day without pain. It is not at all necessary to cite passages that would sustain this allegation. But we must remember, first, the provocation that he had

received, and secondly, the qualities of his mind. Before the masters opened their batteries, his work had been opposed in a narrow and sectarian spirit by many to whom he had looked for better things, and the strong feeling thus aroused accentuated his reply to them. Then the *Remarks* and the *Rejoinder* merited vigorous treatment. Besides, the support that the masters received from certain quarters still further aggravated the situation. (Then Mr. Mann was liable to the mistake that men of his character often fall into, that of discovering moral elements in mere matters of opinion or judgment.) Above all, it must be remembered that, without the imagination, the moral fervor, the gifts of speech, and the devotion to the cause that appear upon almost every page of the documents that he contributed to the controversy, he would never have been, nor could have been, the leader that he was in our great educational revival. It is only in a special sense that the tongues of the prophets are subject to the prophets. (Moreover, a further fact is not to be lost sight of; at bottom the educational revival was not a pedagogical movement, it was not merely a question of introducing some new studies into the schools, or of improving methods of teaching and government; it was rather a moral movement — the arousing of the people of the country to the crying need of universal education.) We must take the prophets with their limitations. Even in his hoarsest passages we must hear Horace Mann for his cause.)

Two of the topics that were mooted in this celebrated controversy invite a somewhat fuller handling

at our hands. The first is suggested by the words "prizes," "rewards," "emulation." The desire of surpassing others, or of gaining distinction, is one of the most powerful principles of human nature. Dr. Bain declares that it is the "most powerful known stimulant to intellectual application."¹ How far may this stimulant be resorted to by the teacher, if at all? The answers to this question cover a wide range of ideas. On the one hand stand the Jesuits, the most accomplished schoolmasters of their time, who used emulation with great persistence, skill, and apparent success; on the other hand stand those teachers and moralists who say emulation should never be employed with children under any circumstances. Mr. Mann belonged to the second of these groups. He looked with complete disfavor upon the whole "prize system," as he called it, and believed in appealing to the love of knowledge and to moral motives. Nor will it be denied that the recent movement of ideas and practice has been strongly in that direction. To a degree, however, the war is a war of words, as can be easily shown.

The more powerful any principle of action is, the greater the dangers that attend its use when misdirected. Dr. Bain, while not disallowing emulation in education, finds that it is marked by four serious defects. It is an anti-social principle, it is apt to be too energetic, it is limited to a small number of persons, and it makes a merit of superior natural gifts. But emulation is a form of competition, and competition cannot be banished from the school any

¹ *Education as a Science*, p. 112.

more than it can be banished from real life. It is in the world, and here in some form and measure it will remain. Pupils *do* compete and *will* compete in school; there is no way of preventing their competing, even if that were desirable, which may well be doubted. Now emulation is competition *plus*, and the danger comes in with the addition. It is idle to wage a fruitless war against this powerful principle of action; but it is not idle, it is rather most important, to keep it within bounds, not allowing it to devastate the schools through the generation of selfish passions. Dr. Howe was quoted in the controversy as having said of the institution over which he presided: "We have no corporal punishment, no prizes, no taking precedence in class, no degradation. Emulation there is, and will be; Nature provides for this in the self-esteem of each individual." And if we remember that emulation is a form of competition, there is no gainsaying Dr. Howe's words.

The other topic is school discipline. In an eloquent passage of his *History*, Lord Macaulay celebrates "that sensitive and restless compassion which has, in our time, extended a powerful protection to the factory child, to the Hindoo widow, to the negro slave; which pries into the stores and water-casks of every emigrant ship; which winces at every lash laid on the back of the drunken soldier; which will not suffer the thief in the hulks to be ill-fed or over-worked, and which has repeatedly endeavored to save the life even of the murderer." No class of ideas and no kind of practice has been more profoundly affected by this sensitive and restless compassion than the

ideas and practice relating to the rearing, and especially to the governing, of children. The child régime that prevailed a few centuries ago, and that, in a somewhat mitigated form, continued down to a recent time, now fills us with feelings akin to horror. Martin Luther says he was whipped at school fifteen times one morning, all because he could not tell what he had never been taught. His father, too, flogged him until the blood ran, which is an example of the fact that, in respect to discipline, the home is likely to give law to the school. It is no wonder, then, that the German Reformer made his celebrated recommendation, that in bringing up children, the apple should be placed beside the rod. So far has the innovation gone that some persons fear the present régime threatens to undermine the stronger virtues. Good feeling, compassion, sympathy, we are told, can never take the place of truth, justice, and righteousness. John Stuart Mill, describing the training that he received from his father, said: "I rejoice in the decline of the old brutal and tyrannical system of teaching, which, however, did succeed in forming habits of application; but the new, as it seems to me, is training up a race of men who will be incapable of doing anything which is disagreeable to them." And on a related point: "Much must be done, and much must be learned, by children for which rigid discipline and known liability to punishment are indispensable as means. It is, no doubt, a very laudable effort in modern teaching to render as much as possible of what the young are required to learn easy and interesting to them. But when this principle is pushed

to the length of not requiring them to learn anything but what has been made easy and interesting, one of the chief objects of education has been sacrificed."¹

The fact that children, in some way, must be brought to submit to the direction and guidance of their seniors is too plain for discussion. The man who denies it is already beyond the reach of argument. Life itself, not to speak of intellectual, moral, and practical well-being, compels at least a measure of such submission. How shall it be secured? By rewards and prizes? These are well enough, necessary, indeed, in their place; but they do not go to the foundation of character, even in those cases where compliance is secured, to make no mention of the cases in which they fail. By moral suasion? This is all-important, for education should look up to a rational end; but moral suasion, even when successful, does not reach the foundation of character either. Suppose you fail to secure compliance, what then? The foundation of character is obedience, and this rests upon authority. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Moreover, the method of obedience is faith or belief, not sight or knowledge. The foundation of character is laid, if well laid, before the child can respond to argument and persuasion. In other words, the moral habits of the individual originate in his relations with the moral beings about him. They can originate nowhere else. To quote an able writer: "We are introduced to society in a state of total dependence, we follow our own wills only in so far as we are allowed, and we

¹ *Autobiography*. New York, 1873, pp. 32, 52.

have to accommodate ourselves to our circumstances, to do and to refrain from doing, at the dictation of superior power. This habituation to obedience, in prescribed lines, is our first moral education, and represents by far the greatest part of that education in its whole compass. By acting and reacting on the numerous individuals that we encounter in various social relations, we obtain both the knowledge of duty and the motive to do it." The same writer declares further that "this primary and personal source of moral education is analogous to the education in physical laws by personal experience of them working for good and for evil."¹ No doubt such a moral discipline as this is somewhat severe and painful, but it is necessary, because it is the method of Nature. It is not, however, brutal or cruel unless parents and teachers see fit to make it so. It means no more and no less than such deference to authority as the moral law itself recognizes. It is, to be sure, most desirable and necessary that the child shall, as rapidly as possible, ascend to a higher level; the level of argument and persuasion, of rational conviction and motive, the level where perfect love casts out fear; but this ascent cannot be made out of due time. Love is the end of the commandment, not the beginning; the fulfilment and not the initiation of the law. The severe and the gentle virtues are essential to good character, and are therefore called for in the education of children; but their reconciliation, especially in practice, is no easy matter. How shall Mercy

¹ *Education as a Science*, by Alexander Bain, LL.D., etc. New York, 1880, pp. 399, 400.

and Truth meet together? Righteousness and Peace kiss each other? The Teacher to whom these phrases are commonly referred, found the common ground on which to affect the reconciliation in benevolence or love; but love, with Him, was perfectly consistent with indignant rebuke and stern punishment.

This controversy suggests the remark, which is also pertinent to the other controversy, that it put the so-called reforms upon their merits. Dr. W. T. Harris, commenting upon the struggles over ideas that have occurred in Massachusetts, has said: "The fine qualities of soul that discover lofty ideals and compare them with existing customs and usages, and thus hold up to view the defects and shortcomings of what is—these high qualities of soul are met by other high qualities of mind engaged in discovering all the good that is realized in institutions as they are. Very great ability in the administration of institutions already existing implies a keen perception of the good points which they possess. Hence we have this paradox: Progressive changes originate here in Massachusetts because the conservative element is so intelligent and understands so well the good that is still contained in the old. The would-be reformer has nowhere else to submit to so severe an ordeal as here. Hence there is no place where a reform starts with so many chances of success; for it is sure to be winnowed of its impractical before it gets on its feet here."¹

¹ *Semi-Centennial Celebration, State Normal School, Framingham, July 2, 1889, pp. 10, 11.*

CHAPTER IX

THE CONTROVERSY WITH RELIGIOUS SECTARIES

It might have been foreseen, and perhaps was foreseen, that the educational revival in Massachusetts, and in the country at large, would sooner or later encounter serious religious opposition. For more than a century and a half from the founding of the public schools in that Commonwealth dogmatic religious instruction was given in them without let or hindrance. This was one object that the founders of these schools had in view in founding them. At first the colony was practically homogeneous in religion, and the utmost pains were taken to keep it so. The Church and the State were but the obverse and reverse side of the same society. The free use in the schools of the shorter of the two Westminster catechisms gave no offence. The frequent visits of the minister to the school to catechise the children were taken as a thing of course. In fact, the minister had a definite educational status assigned him by the school law. Then *The New England Primer*, so long milk for New England babes, was Calvinistic through and through. Such was the old order of things. About the beginning of this century a new order set in. Dogmatic instruction in the schools began to retire into the background. The *Shorter Catechism* progressively fell out of

the schools. The minister's visits for the old purpose became less and less frequent. *The New England Primer* began slowly to disappear. Still the Constitution of 1780 made it the duty of the legislatures and magistrates in all future periods of the Commonwealth "to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings, sincerity and good humor, and all social and generous sentiments among the people."

The new order was due to a number of causes. The various dissenting bodies were encroaching upon the ground so long held by the established Church: the Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Universalists, and Roman Catholics. Each of these bodies had its own theological type and standard, and was more and more disposed to assert itself as stronger it grew. But no such body could expect to put its own creed into the schools: all it could do effectually was to oppose the teaching of the old creed. The split of the historic Church, when it came, resulting in the Congregational and Unitarian bodies as we know them, tended to complicate the situation. Furthermore, the spirit that animated the so-called Orthodox or evangelical denominations became more liberal, while the laicizing of the State and all its functions went steadily forward.

The new order was ushered in so gradually and easily that it is quite impossible to assign to it a definite date. The catechism, the minister as an authoritative religious teacher, and *The New England*

Primer did not quit the schools at any specified time: they were quitting them for a generation or more.

The most significant fact in the long process is the Act of 1827, which declared that school committees should never direct to be used or purchased in any of the town schools any school books which were calculated to favor the tenets of any particular sect of Christians. This act, which was re-enacted in 1835, may be considered from two points of view. For the most part it marked a change that had already been effected. It was one of those acts of legislation that, in great degree, merely register what the slow operation of public opinion has already accomplished. Still this was not all. The old instruction, more or less toned down perhaps, still lingered in some schools, and the new legislation would naturally tend to hasten its departure. It may be said, therefore, that to all intents and purposes the old régime had been wound up and the new one practically inaugurated before Mr. Mann came to the Secretary's office. But this did not prevent friends of the old régime holding him responsible for the change.

The educational revival was something more than the setting up of a new educational order, and also something less. It revealed to men's minds more fully the state of things that had been for some time existing. Among other things, it brought society to a much fuller self-consciousness in respect to education than it had known before. This awakening caused men — some men at least — some rude shocks. Among other facts that were now laid bare was this one, that the school of the Puritans, with its dog-

matic instruction in religion, had either disappeared or was on the point of disappearing. Naturally, many of those who saw this with regret, recognizing that the Board of Education and its Secretary were the two great factors that had been recently introduced into the school system, thought these agencies were the causes of the unwelcome change that was taking place, and opposed them for this reason. Sectarian opinion and sectarian feeling were far sharper edged in 1837 than they are in 1897, and it was perfectly well known to everybody that Mr. Mann was a Unitarian and that, from the first, a considerable portion of the members of the Board were so-called liberals in their religious views. Men were by no means as familiar as we are with the conception of the civil school—an institution organized and conducted for the purpose of teaching the children of the State the knowledge that they need for the uses of life and for grounding them in good morals, but that has nothing whatever to do with any formal or dogmatic religious teaching. It is not strange, therefore, that men began to beat the drum ecclesiastic. For the first time in the United States was heard the cry that has assumed in later times the well-known form, "The public schools are Godless." Those who raised this cry were actuated by different motives. Some no doubt thought the old system of religious teaching could still be retained, at least in part. Some improved the opportunity to vent their ill feeling towards the Board and the Secretary. Some took advantage of the prevailing sectarian prejudice to accomplish a purpose that they had formed for other reasons, viz.,

that of breaking down the new educational system. Some ill-informed men, it may well be believed, actually thought the Board and the Secretary had wrought the change that had been made in the schools.

The struggle that now ensued in Massachusetts was the first of its kind witnessed in the country. Since that day it has been repeated in many other States. Nor can it be confidently predicted that it will not be repeated again. In fact, in some form more or less active this struggle has been going on from that day to this. The issue is confessedly a most important one. It involves nothing else than the question of adjusting the State school to the whole existing system of agencies by which the religious training of children is carried on, the family, the Sunday-school, and the Church. Horace Mann was the first conspicuous educator in the United States to meet and answer this question. We have, therefore, both a personal interest and an historical interest in the religious controversies in which as Secretary of the Board of Education he became involved.

It will be remembered that Mr. Mann incurred criticism on religious grounds in the course of his first grand circuit of the State, in the autumn of 1837. Within a year some of the religious newspapers began to ask questions and suggest difficulties in respect to the new educational movement. In October, 1838, *The New York Observer*, with hostile intent, asked what would be the effect of the Board of Education upon religious instruction in the schools; and soon after *The Recorder* of Boston entered upon the course that led Mr. Mann to write in 1844 that for seven

years that journal had seemed to omit no opportunity to impugn his motives and misrepresent his conduct. The refusal of the Board to introduce into the schools the American Sunday School Library, although it had no legal authority in the matter, gave offence. The critics were determined to see an anti-religious bias in the course that the Board pursued, and this determination was an important factor in the attempts made in 1840, 1841 to abolish the Board. But, strangely enough, some people believed it to be the purpose of the Board to thrust religious teaching into the schools. Thus *The Trumpet* made this charge directly and persistently. It is needless, perhaps, to point out that the persons who entertained these different views belonged to the Orthodox and heterodox portions of the community respectively. For a few years Mr. Mann does not appear to have given much public attention to these attacks; but he strove in private interviews, and with some success, to overcome public opposition. He was finally forced into the public arena.

On February 23, 1844, there appeared in *The Christian Witness and Church Advocate*, an organ of the Episcopalians published in Boston, a communication entitled "Christian Education," the writer of which demanded to know wherein the system that Stephen Girard had established for Girard College was different from the system that the Board of Education, or rather its Secretary, was imposing upon the schools of Massachusetts. The question was commended to all Christian denominations holding Orthodox creeds. This communication at once pre-

icipitated a general engagement of artillery and small arms, in which Horace Mann, the editor of *The Witness*, the writer of the communication, and numerous editors and contributors to the public press participated. Several circumstances conduced to this result. One was the fact that the communication in *The Witness* was written by Mr. Edward A. Newton of Pittsfield, a former member of the Board of Education. A second one was the interest in Girard College, excited by Mr. Webster's celebrated argument before the Supreme Court in the Girard will case. The controversy with the Boston schoolmasters was also going on at the same time. The engagement was of a desultory character. Some of the principal points of attack and defence will be enumerated.¹

Mr. Girard's system was drawn from the writings of Paine and Volney, and was subversive of Christianity and morality. The Common School Library tended to undermine Orthodox religion; most of the writings of Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, Wesley, and Fuller could not be admitted to it. *The Common School Journal*, the Secretary's Reports, and the Normal schools were parts of a system designed to rob the people of their ancient faith. The Board of Education was wholly useless and burdensome to the State, to say nothing of the religious objections

¹ *The Common School Controversy, consisting of Three Letters of the Secretary of the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts, in Reply to Charges preferred against the Board by the Editor of the "Christian Witness," and by Edward A. Newton, Esq., of Pittsfield, once a Member of the Board; to which are added Extracts from the Daily Press, in Regard to the Controversy. Boston, 1844. Printed by J. N. Bradley & Co.*

to it; it was a central, all-absorbing power, anti-republican in all its bearings, well adapted perhaps to Prussia and other European despotisms, but not wanted in the United States. The construction that the Board and Secretary put on the law of 1827 was an excrescence. That law was never intended to exclude from the schools the teaching of the great doctrines of the Gospel; the State authorities had no right, for example, to interpret the law so as to exclude from the schools the *Shorter Catechism*; the intention of the legislators of 1827 was to exclude only the teaching of church government and discipline. Sound morality could rest only upon the orthodox doctrines of grace; these should be taught, as a great majority of the people were Orthodox. There was no religion in which all were agreed that could be taught in the schools; there was not a point of a doctrinal character in the Christian scheme that was not disputed or disallowed by some; there might be a pretty general agreement about the precepts of the Gospel, but the sons of the Puritans would never be willing to have religious teaching in their public schools limited to precepts. Mr. Girard allowed the Bible to be read in his school, but not interpreted, and the Board of Education had adopted the same rule for the Normal schools of Massachusetts. A Papist, if he became a member of the Board of Education, might object to the received translation of the Bible, and on Mr. Mann's principles its retention could not be defended. Then, how was the child of wicked or indifferent parents ever to learn the way of salvation, if he did not learn it at school? The schools should

not be opened to the doctrines of the Millerites or the Mormons, but they should be made nurseries of immortal beings, who had souls to save as well as minds to be taught. In short, the demand was that the Puritan régime should be thoroughly re-established. And yet, these Episcopalian controversialists must have known that the old Puritans would have made it very uncomfortable for them, if they had fallen into their hands.

Mr. Mann's three letters were written with his usual vigor and point, and in parts with much warmth of feeling. Besides correcting misstatements and misrepresentations he brought out clearly the principle on which the whole contention turned. These are some of his more important points:

The law of 1827 was intended to do just what the Board construed it to mean, exclude sectarian instruction from the schools. Instead of clergymen being excluded from the management of the schools of Massachusetts, as they were from Girard College, five clergymen were at the time members of the Board of Education, three of them Orthodox, while a majority of the school committee-men throughout the State were also clergymen. The Board of Education had always acted as a unit, Orthodox and heterodox alike, in proposing the very measures that were so sharply criticised. The Bible was an invaluable book for forming the character of children, but it was not at all necessary to teach the children in the schools the theological creeds. On the other hand, to attempt to do such a thing would necessarily break up the common school system altogether. The Bible should

be read in the schools, but without note or comment. The proportion of the population of the State that was Orthodox had been much exaggerated; from one-fourth to one-third were liberal Christians, not to speak of those who denied the name Christian and the Catholics. The Massachusetts system was republican and American; compulsory religious instruction in the schools was the despotic method that prevailed in Prussia and other European despotisms.

Historically, one of the most interesting passages in the three letters is some paragraphs in which Mr. Mann rebuts the contention that the Assembly's Catechism had been driven out of the schools by the Board of Education. In the nine eastern counties of the State, containing more than five-eighths of its population, the Catechism and the teaching of Orthodox doctrines had been mainly, but not entirely, discontinued long before the existence of the Board. In many places the discontinuance dated back to the beginning of the present century. He had met with many persons educated in the schools who had never seen the Assembly's Catechism. In all the common school conventions that he had ever attended, in nearly all of which the subject of moral and religious instruction was presented, there had been but one instance where Orthodox teaching was advocated, and that was resisted on the spot by an Orthodox clergyman. The whole current of the school committees' reports was averse to the introduction of sectarianism into the schools; of more than a thousand of these documents, there were but two of a contrary description. This rapid résumé will answer for Mr.

Mann's defence, especially as we are about to traverse much of the same ground again. But first the remark, that the stream of discussion in the public journals ran steadily and strongly against the sectaries.

Much the most picturesque of all Mr. Mann's controversies was the one with the Rev. Matthew Hale Smith.¹ Mr. Smith's mental character can be inferred from the title and construction of the sermon in which he attacked the Board of Education and its Secretary. This sermon was preached before the Church and the Society of the Pilgrims, Boston, October 10, 1846, and was one of those exaggerated efforts in which sensational clergymen indulge when they take it in hand to deal comprehensively with the morals of society. The preacher entitled his discourse "The Ark of God on a New Cart," using as a text the well-known words of 2 Samuel vi. 3. The preacher charged that immorality and crime were increasing at a rapid rate, and asserted that the principal reason was the abandonment of the divinely appointed agencies for repressing crime and cultivating virtue, and the adoption of human devices. Society, like Uzzah, had been stricken because, like Uzzah, it had neglected the divine commandments. The ark had been put on a new cart drawn by oxen, instead of being borne on the shoulders of the priests of God. The growth of juvenile depravity was due to the absence of good home instruction, and to

¹ In his letters to George Combe, Mr. Mann called Smith "one of the wild beasts of Ephesus," an "untamable hyena," and "a child of sin and Satan." Smith had once been a preacher of the annihilation of the wicked, then a Universalist, and was now a Calvinist of the Old Testament stamp.

attempts to mend the divine legislation. Modern reformers had taken the education of youth under their special care, and, denying the propriety of early religious training, had made common schools the theatre of their experiments and labor. The common schools of Boston were denounced as both corrupt and corrupting. However, the part of the sermon that most interests us is the following:

"An effort has been made, and that too with some success, to do three things with our common schools: (1) To get out of them the Bible and all religious instruction; (2) to abolish the use of the rod and all correction but a little talk; (3) to make common schools a counterpoise to religious instruction at home and in Sabbath schools. The Board of Education in Massachusetts has aided in this work in two ways: (1) By allowing an individual, under the sanction of its authority, to disseminate through the land crude and destructive principles, principles believed to be at war with the Bible and with the best interests of the young for time and eternity. (2) By a library which excludes books as sectarian that inculcate truths which nine-tenths of professed Christians of all names believe, while it accepts others that inculcate the most deadly heresy — even universal salvation."¹

¹ The following bibliography will throw light upon this controversy: (1) *The Bible, the Rod, and Religion in Common Schools*, pp. 59. This pamphlet contains Mr. Smith's sermon, "The Ark of God on a New Cart," a "Review" of the sermon by Wm. B. Fowle, a "Reply" to the "Review" by Mr. Smith, "Strictures on the Sectarian Character of *The Common School Journal*" by a member of the Board of Education, and "Correspondence" between Mr. Mann and Mr. Smith, embracing two letters from each disputant. (2) *Sequel to the so-called Correspondence between Rev. M. H. Smith and*

The fact that the moral condition of Boston was being canvassed at the time, among its incidents being a public meeting held at Faneuil Hall, gave a factitious importance to Mr. Smith's sermon. It was twice delivered to large audiences, and was published in pamphlet form as well as in a religious journal. It was a challenge that Mr. Mann felt called upon to meet. Only the salient features of the resulting controversy call for reproduction, and those only because they are an integral part of our subject. Mr. Mann contended:

1. The Board had nothing whatever to do with the establishment or management of the common schools. These functions under the law rested first with the local authorities, but ultimately with the people, for the people elected the school committees in town meetings. If moral instruction was not given in the schools, or if the Bible was not read, the fault lay at the door of the school committees and of the people themselves.

2. The attitude of the Board to the Bible may be best stated in Mr. Mann's own words: "The whole influence of the Board of Education, from the day of its organization to the present time, has been to promote and encourage, and whenever they have had any power, as in the case of the Normal schools, to direct the daily use of the Bible in schools." "So efficient have been the efforts of the Board to get the Bible

Horace Mann, by Mr. Mann, pp. 56. (3) *Reply to the Sequel of Hon. Horace Mann*, by Matthew Hale Smith, pp. 36. (4) *Letter to the Rev. Matthew Hale Smith in answer to his Reply*, by Horace Mann, pp. 22. (5) *Horace Mann and M. Hale Smith*, pp. 8.

into the common schools instead of *out* of them, as the report of Mr. Smith's sermon affirms, that, when I last made the inquiry, I found that the Bible was used in the schools in all the towns in the State excepting three; and those three towns returned no answer to the inquiry. It might therefore be used in those three towns also." The Eighth Annual Report of the Board had contained an elaborate argument in favor of the use of the Bible. Mr. Mann declared: "The Bible was never so extensively used in our schools as at the present time; and its use has been constantly increasing ever since the influence of the Board was brought to bear upon the subject."

3. The Board had "never done anything to 'abolish the use of the rod in schools, or all correction but a little talk.'" On the contrary, it had "always upheld and defended the use of the rod when other measures of restraint had been tried and failed." They went cordially, and, as he believed, unanimously, against those enormous abuses of the rod which had been perpetrated by incompetence and bad passions. "But on all occasions they had upheld the doctrine of authority and good order in school, and so much of punishment as, with other and higher influences, might be necessary to maintain them."

4. The Board had not accepted as a part of the Common School Library books that inculcated "the most deadly heresy, even universal salvation." It had, rather, taken the greatest pains in its selection of books, and had accepted none until they had been unanimously approved by the Orthodox and liberal members of the Board alike.

In his first letter, Mr. Mann entered a general denial of the charges that Mr. Smith had made, and called upon him either to withdraw them or to furnish adequate proof of their truth. It is almost needless to say that he did neither. He did what the class of controversialists to which he belonged always do under similar circumstances — shifted his ground, made new charges, misrepresented documents, laid great emphasis on little things, appealed to sectarian prejudice, raised a great dust, and filled the air with noise and confusion. For his original charge that the Board had attempted to get the Bible out of the school, he substituted adroitly this proposition: "You may introduce the Bible into every school in the State, yet if it goes in in any other light than the inspired word of God, etc., . . . it ceases to be the Bible as Christians cherish it, its moral power is gone." When Mr. Mann protested that he too accepted the Bible as the word of God, Mr. Smith retorted that Mann did not believe the whole of it to be the inspired word, and that he did not think parts of it proper to be read in schools. In other words, the Secretary's own state of mind regarding the Bible, which Mr. Smith insisted upon defining for himself, in some way impaired the usefulness of the book even when read in the schools. In respect to the use of the rod, the trouble was somewhat the same. The Secretary justified its use in extreme cases, but on account of the incompetency of the master rather than of "the necessity that springs from the nature of the child." The meaning of this is that Mr. Mann did not favor whipping because

Solomon recommended it, or because the child is a depraved being, but because the teacher cannot wholly dispense with it in maintaining order. In a word, Mr. Mann did not base his theory of school government on the dogma that men are by nature children of wrath, which Mr. Smith said was "striking out with a dash of the pen a fundamental truth received by all Christian sects save one." Mr. Mann also protested that he believed in future rewards and punishments; but this was no more to the purpose than his protestation that he believed in the Bible and desired to have it read in the schools. Neither whipping nor Bible reading, apparently, could be expected to do any good so long as the Secretary entertained wrong theories about them.

In this controversy Mr. Mann stood firmly, as he always did, for reading the Bible in the public schools, but without note or comment. This is a position that is perfectly unassailable, save from two points of view. One of these is the Catholic doctrine that the Church is the fountain of all sound teaching in morals and in religion, and private judgment is a deadly error. The other is the thesis put forward by those persons who contend that the Bible itself is a sectarian book standing on the same ground as the Koran or the Vedas.

Towards the close of his "Sequel," Mr. Mann addressed some cogent considerations to those who thought that doctrinal religion should be taught in the schools, and who would impower each town or school district to determine the kind of doctrine to be taught. The passage has by no means lost its force from lapse of time.

"It is easy to see that the experiment would not stop with having half a dozen conflicting creeds taught by authority of law in the different schools of the same town or vicinity. Majorities will change in the same place. One sect may have the ascendancy to-day, another to-morrow. This year there will be three Persons in the Godhead; next year but one; and the third year the Trinity will be restored to hold its precarious sovereignty until it shall be again dethroned by the worms of the dust it has made. This year, the everlasting fires of hell will burn to terrify the impenitent; next year, and without any repentance, its eternal flames will be extinguished, to be rekindled forever, or to be quenched forever as it may be decided at annual town meetings. This year, under Congregational rule, the Rev. Mr. So and So, and the Rev. Dr. So and So will be on the committee; but next year these reverends and reverend doctors will be plain misters, never having had apostolic consecration from the bishop. This year the ordinance of baptism is inefficacious without immersion; next year one drop of water will be as good as forty fathoms. Children attending the district school will be taught one way; going from the district school to the town high school they will be taught another way. In controversies involving such momentous interests, the fiercest party spirit will rage, and all the contemplations of heaven be poisoned by the passions of earth. Will not town lines and school district lines be altered, to restore an unsuccessful or to defeat a successful party? Will not fiery zealots move from place to place, to turn the

theological scale, as it is said is sometimes now done to turn a political one? And will not the godless make a merchandise of religion by being bribed to do the same thing? Can aught be conceived more deplorable, more fatal to the interests of the young than this? Such strifes and persecutions on the question of total depravity as to make all men depraved at any rate; and such contests about the nature and the number of Persons in the Godhead in heaven, as to make little children atheists upon earth.

“If the question, ‘What theology shall be taught in school?’ is to be decided by districts or towns, then all the prudential and the superintending school committees must be chosen with express reference to their faith; the creed of every candidate for teaching must be investigated; and when litigations arise—and such a system will breed them in swarms—an ecclesiastical tribunal, some star chamber, or high commission court must be created to decide them. If the governor is to have power to appoint the judges of this spiritual tribunal, he also must be chosen with reference to the appointments he will make, and so, too, must the legislators who are to define their power, and to give them the purse and sword of the State, to execute their authority. Call such officers by the name of judge and governor, or cardinal and pope, the thing will be the same. The establishment of the true faith will not stop with the schoolroom. Its grasping jurisdiction will extend over all schools, over all private faith and public worship, until at last, after all our centuries of

struggle and of suffering, it will come back to the inquisition, the faggot, and the rack.

"Let me ask here, too, where is the consistency of those who advocate the right of a town or a district to determine, by a majority, what theology shall be taught in the schools, but deny the same right to the State? Does not this inconsistency blaze out into the faces of such advocates so as to make them feel, if they are too blind to see? This would be true, even if the State had written out the theology it would enforce. But ours has not. It has only said that no one sect shall obtain any advantage over other sects by means of the school system, which, for purposes of self-preservation, it has established."

Mr. Mann looked upon political strife much as he did upon sectarian zeal. "The wild roar of party politics" that filled the land in 1840 led him to reflect still more deeply than before upon the place of popular education among the factors and powers that form society and mould the individual. He deprecated the fierce heat of party spirit, and pleaded for one institution which "should be sacred from the ravages of the spirit of party, one place in the wide land unblasted by the fiery breath of animosity." He saw how very injurious the great political storm that then passed over the country was to the educational interests of Massachusetts.

Again Mr. Mann's letters, particularly to George Combe, threw a sidelight upon the history. He wrote in July, 1844, that what he had said in the Seventh Report about the teaching of religion abroad had started up some of the fanatical people, who

thought it necessary first to put him down that they might afterwards carry out their plans of introducing religious doctrines into the schools. Instead of being convinced of their error in respect to compulsory religious teaching by the picture that he had drawn of Europe, the ultra-orthodox had asked the question why they could not have the same thing in Massachusetts. In December of the same year he wrote that the Orthodox had been hunting him as though they had been bloodhounds and he a poor rabbit. The Orthodox could be divided into two classes: the Orthodox by association, education, or personal conviction; and the born Orthodox, or those who, if they had had wit enough, would have invented Orthodoxy if Calvin had not done so. The last were the men who were assailing him. He had never seen a man of this class whom he would trust as long as he could hold his breath.

It must not be supposed that Mr. Mann was left unsupported. On the contrary, he was thoroughly sustained, in the long run, by a majority of the Orthodox people of the State; had he not been, he could never have held his ground. Governor Briggs endorsed him in one of his annual messages in these words: "Justice to a faithful public officer leads me to say that the indefatigable and accomplished Secretary of the Board of Education has performed services in the cause of common schools which will earn for him the lasting gratitude of the generation to which he belongs." Mr. Newton had no follower among the Orthodox members of the Board. On the other hand, the Rev. Emerson Davis, of Westfield, an

Orthodox clergyman and a member of the Board as it was first constituted by Governor Everett, defended Mr. Mann's course, and so did Rev. Dr. Humphrey, who came into the Board at a later date. In a published communication Mr. Davis declared that the opposition, so far from being spontaneous, had been worked up by interested persons for purposes of their own.¹

From one point of view a controversy with such a man as Rev. Matthew Hale Smith could end only in vanity and vexation of spirit. The spectacle of Horace Mann pursuing this slippery disputant through two or three pamphlets is little short of ludicrous. And yet Mr. Mann felt compelled to assume that duty because a point of educational policy transcendent in its importance was involved, and it would never do to allow it to be obscured, and still less to be answered wrongly. This was nothing less than the status that the State school should assume in respect to religion. How should the school be adjusted to the moral and

¹ How far Mr. Mann was from sectarian bias in respect to the schools is shown by this bit of history. Not long before he left the Secretary's office, a correspondent wrote him in regard to the employment of Roman Catholic teachers in the schools. His answer shows the breadth of view that he took of the whole subject: "I do not see how, according to our law, a man is to be disfranchised or held to be disqualified for the office of a teacher, merely because he is a Catholic. If his manners and his attainments are good, if his conduct is exemplary, his character pure, and he has ability to inculcate justice, a sacred regard to truth, the principles of piety, and those other excellencies which the constitution enumerates, can you reject him because you understand him to be a Catholic? Would Père la Salle, Fénelon, or Bishop Cheverus be disqualified by the fact of their faith alone to keep a school in Massachusetts?"

religious training of children? Counsels far more dangerous than those given out by the Rev. Matthew Hale Smith were being poured into the ears of the public. For example *The Princeton Review* did not hesitate to say: "The people of each school district have the right to make the schools as religious as they please; and if they cannot agree they have the right severally of withdrawing their proper proportion of the public stock of funds." *The Recorder* had declared that "the grand doctrines of the gospel must be regularly and clearly taught." Moreover, a prominent contributor to the same journal, speaking of the framers of the law which declared that the school committee should never direct to be used in any of the town schools any school books which were calculated to favor the tenets of any particular sect of Christians, said: "If their object was to exclude books which teach the leading doctrines of Protestantism, or, to be more definite, the leading doctrines held by the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, or, to be more definite still, the prominent truths embraced by the evangelical churches of Massachusetts, then it is no matter how soon the law is repealed." The same writer asserted that in such things the majority must govern. It must be conceded that he was consistent, for he accorded the same right to an Universalist, Orthodox, or evangelical majority indifferently.

Something has been lost, no doubt, by differentiating so closely the various controversies in which Mr. Mann was engaged. They are made to appear more separate and disconnected than they really were. As a matter of fact, they were but phases of one general

current of opposition to the new educational movement. On the other hand, the sources of opposition and the dangers that they threatened are much more clearly brought out by the method that has been pursued. This is especially true of the sectarian controversy, which was the most serious of all. The hostility of Massachusetts politicians and Boston schoolmasters was local and did not, perhaps, bode permanent danger to the cause; but the sectarian issue was fundamental and universal. Here Mr. Mann was fighting the battle, not of Massachusetts alone but of the whole country. He stood for America. He contended for the principle on which alone, under existing conditions, it was possible to build up a general system of common schools. This was the principle that sectarian instruction, as the term was then understood, should be excluded from the school-houses. Whether the Bible itself is a sectarian book, is a question that had not then arisen and with which Mr. Mann was not called upon to deal. For no service that he rendered is he entitled to larger gratitude than for the clear insight with which he chose his ground and the great ability and unfaltering courage with which he defended it. Had he stood for excluding the Bible from the schools, on the one hand, or for expounding it according to the creeds on the other, he would have inflicted a serious, if not an irreparable, injury upon the cause. If the doctrine for which his opponents contended had prevailed in Massachusetts and other States, there would be to-day no public school system in the country worthy of the name.

CHAPTER X

MR. MANN A MEMBER OF CONGRESS

ON February 23, 1848, John Quincy Adams died in the Speaker's room of the House of Representatives at Washington. He had long been the leader in Congress of the opposition to the spread of slavery in the country, as well as the Nestor of the House of Representatives, and his death, notwithstanding his great age, was a matter of National concern. Much would turn upon the selection of his successor. The people of Mr. Adams' district, who looked upon the crisis as an important one, finally fixed their eyes upon Mr. Mann, who had recently made his home at West Newton, as the fittest person for the succession, and they accordingly nominated him. At first, he peremptorily declined the nomination, but, yielding to the importunities of friends, he reversed his decision and accepted it. His election took place in March, and in April, 1848, Mr. Mann transferred the scene of his labors from Massachusetts to Washington. He resigned his Secretaryship, but consented, the Board of Education not being ready to appoint his successor, to retain it until the close of the year. This he was the more willing to do as it gave him an opportunity to make a final report, "a peroration to the rest." He was twice re-elected, and served

from April, 1848, to March, 1853, five years that were full of eventful history. Possibly the most interesting part of the slight account of his period of service that can be given in this work will be the reasons that led Mr. Mann to make the change.

Mrs. Mann says he saw that the new office had bearings upon education which allied it closely to his interests. The Secretaryship was becoming, or rather had become, very onerous to him, while he desired to take an active part in the great controversy over slavery, that more and more filled the land down to the Civil War. In two letters to George Combe, which bear the dates April 12, 1849, and November 15, 1850, Mr. Mann says his most decisive reason was regard for his health. He verily believed that another year without aid and without relaxation would have closed his labors upon earth. He was in the twelfth year of his Secretaryship, and while acting in that capacity he was under the trammels of neutrality between all sects and parties. Longer silence on some pending questions was becoming almost unbearable to him. Touching slavery, he said that the destiny of a new territory of about six hundred thousand square miles in extent was about to be determined; while all of human history that he ever knew respecting the contest for political and religious freedom, and his own hard struggle to imbue the public mind with an understanding of the spirit of religious liberty, had so magnified in his mind the importance of free institutions, and so intensified his horror of all forms of slavery, that even the importance of education itself seemed for a moment to be eclipsed.

Still further, his fidelity to his principles had raised up some enemies, who, to thwart him, would resist educational progress, but who, if he were out of the way, would be disarmed and would co-operate with his successor.

If Mr. Mann really cherished the hope of accomplishing something in Congress for education, he must have been keenly disappointed. There have been few occasions when a statesman in Congress, no matter what his character, interest, or standing, could directly do much to forward the cause of education, and one of these occasions did not fall within Mr. Mann's period of service. Other and more engrossing subjects occupied the public mind, while the theory of the Government that was then in vogue was not favorable to such measures. But disappointed as he may have been, Mr. Mann constantly showed his interest in the cause that he had so faithfully served. Soon after he took his seat in the House, he delivered an able speech entitled "Slavery and the Territories," in which he spoke with much eloquence of the opposite effects of freedom and slavery on popular education, of the relation of such education to labor and invention, and of the effect that the association of young children with slaves produced upon Southern manners. In Congress Mr. Mann still cultivated all his old enthusiasms, as for temperance and moral reforms in general. He took an active interest in Miss Dorothea Dix's efforts to better the condition of the insane in the District of Columbia. The scholar, also, is pleased to find him supporting a more liberal appropriation for carrying into effect the law in regard to

the international exchange of books. He naturally took a keen interest in the visit of the Hungarian patriot Kossuth to the United States, which occurred towards the close of his period of Congressional service. Soon after he went to Washington, Mr. Mann appeared as counsel in some cases at law that produced, at the time, widespread interest and some excitement. Yielding to the importunity of antislavery men at the North, he undertook the defence of Drayton and Sayers, charged with attempting to abduct seventy slaves from Washington in the sloop "Pearl."

Real political interest had first awakened in Mr. Mann's mind in the Era of Good Feeling, and his first active participation in politics was the support that he gave to John Quincy Adams in the presidential election of 1824. Afterwards he became a National Republican, and then a Whig. When the slavery agitation grew sharp, it began to affect political parties. At first, most of the antislavery men who took a part in practical politics acted within the lines of one or the other of the two old parties; but, as time went on, they were more and more driven, or more and more drawn, to form an organization of their own. This was the case in Massachusetts as well as in many other of the Northern States. Mr. Mann entered Congress as an antislavery Whig, but, before he left it, he had become a member of the coalition of antislavery Whigs and Democrats that was sometimes known as the Free Soilers or the Free Democracy, and that formed the nucleus of the Republican party of the future. But while a strong antislavery man, Mr. Mann deprecated the ideas and the action of the

extremists, as he regarded them, on the same side. Not only was he no Abolitionist, but he frequently criticised the Free Soilers as well. It will be seen, therefore, that Mr. Mann was at no time a political extremist. He never took more than a secondary interest in merely partisan questions, and it was the moral factors involved that enlisted his determined opposition to slavery. As a politician he acted on the principle of securing the best thing that he thought attainable at the time and place. He naturally fell under the condemnation of the Abolitionists. Not long before he left Massachusetts for Ohio, he became involved in a controversy with Wendell Phillips on the question whether, since the National Constitution recognizes slavery, moral and Christian men could rightly hold office under our General and State governments. To enter into this question, or to inquire where the truth lay between Mr. Mann and Mr. Phillips, is altogether foreign to the purpose of this work.

It will be seen that Mr. Mann's period of Congressional service coincided with the discussion and immediate settlement of the exciting questions that grew out of the Mexican War. It was the day of the famous Compromise Measures. He entered into the discussion of these questions with the greatest courage and ardor, opposing the strongest possible resistance to the extension of slavery and the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law. Every leading speech that he made in the House of Representatives, five in all, was devoted to the slavery question. The fact that a man of his wide range of interests and sympathies

should talk on slavery, and nothing but slavery, shows how that issue then dominated the mind of the country. These speeches are marked by great force of argument, telling illustration, and fervid patriotic and moral appeal. They were listened to with the more respect and commanded the wider audience from the fact that everybody knew that Mr. Mann was not a politician, in the accepted sense of the word, and that he uttered nothing but the sincere convictions of his heart. At the time of their delivery, his speeches were considered among the ablest of their kind, and history has confirmed this opinion.

Mr. Mann was a great admirer of Daniel Webster, and shared fully in the general disappointment that was caused by that statesman's Seventh of March Speech. He said the speech bore all the marks of Webster's mind — "clearness of style, weight of statement, power of language; but nothing can, to my mind, atone for the abandonment of the Territories to what he calls the law of Nature for the exclusion of slavery." After pointing out that much of Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri lay far north of a great part of New Mexico, he demanded: "How can a man say that a law of Nature will keep slavery out of the latter when it has not kept it out of the former?" He then expressed an opinion that was in full accord with his habitual mode of thinking. "The existence or non-existence of slavery depends more upon conscience than climate." He ever after regarded Mr. Webster as a fallen star, and applied to him the words, "Lucifer descending from heaven." Invited by some of his constituents to address them

in a public speech, he wrote them a letter instead, in which he reviewed the course of leading statesmen on the slavery question. He pointed out, as he said, Mr. Webster's inconsistencies and enormities in as searching a manner as he could, but in a very respectful tone. This was enough; naturally Webster and his friends strove to prevent Mr. Mann's return to Congress in 1850. The Whigs refused to renominate him and nearly all the Whig newspapers opposed him, but he came out as an independent candidate, and made his appeal to the people direct. As he himself told the story to Combe: "The convention to nominate my successor was packed by fraudulent means and I was thrown overboard. . . . To bring the *odium theologicum* to crush me, an evangelical was taken as my opponent. I took the stump and put the matter to my constituents face to face." He was re-elected by a handsome majority. This triumph, which had both a personal and a political character, afforded Mr. Mann and his friends the greatest pleasure. The election had been preceded by a personal controversy between Mann and Webster that at the time attracted widespread attention.¹

In September, 1852, the antislavery coalition referred to above—the same coalition that first sent Charles Sumner to the United States Senate—nominated Mr.

¹ Mann's political controversies were marked by the same heat and intensity that he manifested in dealing with the Boston schoolmasters and the religious sectaries who opposed him. Mr. E. L. Pierce, dealing with his attack on Mr. Webster, remarks: "Mann's argument was one of great ability, but impaired in its effect by intensives and personalities." — *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, Vol. III., p. 210.

Mann for Governor of Massachusetts. When the returns came in he was found to stand at the bottom of the poll. His own comment was, "Rum and proslavery have done it." Some glowing eulogies on his life, character, and public services were delivered in the convention that placed him in nomination. Mr. Seth Webb said Mr. Mann, if elected, would see to it that no second Thomas Simms was carried from Boston into slavery. Hon. Henry Wilson, afterwards Vice-President, characterized a recent speech of Mann's as one of the most brilliant speeches for liberty that ever fell from human lips in our own or any other country. In the struggles of the future it would exert an influence perhaps unequalled by any speech of the time. Still more pertinent to the purpose of the present volume is the following paragraph from the speech delivered by Hon. Anson Burlingame:

"As to the candidate we have nominated, I shall say nothing but that his fame is as wide as the universe. It was my fortune to be, some time since, in Guildhall, London, when a debate was going on. The question was whether they should instruct their representatives in favor of secular education. They voted that they would not do it. But a gentleman then rose and read some statistics from one of the Reports of the Hon. Horace Mann. That extract reversed the vote of the Common Council of London. I have never felt prouder of my country. I call upon the young men of the Commonwealth, who have grown up under the inspiration of his free schools, to sustain their champion, and to carry his name over the hills and through the pleasant valleys of Massachu-

setts during the present canvass with that enthusiasm which shall result in a glorious victory."

With his canvass for the governorship of Massachusetts, Mr. Mann's active participation in politics terminated, but his interest in the slavery question never waned. There can be little doubt that his political services while in the House of Representatives would have received larger recognition than has been accorded to them if they had not been so overshadowed by his educational career.

CHAPTER XI

HORACE MANN PRESIDENT OF ANTIOCH COLLEGE

THE most painful period in Mr. Mann's public life, and in some ways the most interesting, is the last period, the six years that he served as president of Antioch College. The story is indeed a pathetic one, almost a tragedy. It is a story that tells many lessons, but, unfortunately, some of the most impressive of them are lessons of warning rather than of encouragement. The character of this work limits us to a brief treatment of the subject.

In October, 1850, the Christian Connection took preliminary steps looking to the founding of a college, their principal aims being two in number: to establish a non-sectarian college of high rank, and to offer in it equal opportunities for students of both sexes. The Articles of Incorporation defined the Christian Connection to be a religious denomination, professing no creed but the Bible, and having no test of fellowship but Christian character. The Articles also determined the name and style of the institution, which were suggested by the well-known words of Acts xi. 26: "And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch." Financial considerations exclusively gave the college to Ohio, and were also weighty in fixing its seat. This was at Yellow

Springs, a small village in Greene County, about seventy-five miles northeast of Cincinnati. The liberal contributions promised by citizens of the locality were reinforced by its natural attractions. The place was a favorite resort for invalids and persons seeking rest and quiet, who were drawn to the spot by the delightful scenery and the medicinal qualities of the spring from which the place took its name. But, most unhappily, neither scenery nor spring afforded quiet and rest to the much worn man who was called to preside over the new seat of learning.

It was no way strange that the founders of Antioch College should seek Horace Maun for a president. The strange thing was, as many thought at the time, and as some will still think, that he was even willing to consider the proposition, much less to accept it. In the first place, it is hard to imagine a more insecure financial foundation than the one that the fathers of Antioch provided, or a more unbusiness-like financial management. The mainstay of the College was to be a system of scholarships, perpetual in character and transferable by delivery, which were to be sold for the pitiful price of one hundred dollars each. In the next place the phrases "liberal Christian" and "non-sectarian," while alluring to many minds, have often proved extremely delusive. There is nothing in human experience that guarantees catholicity of feeling and breadth of view to men who assume these badges, or to religious bodies that have no creed but the Bible and no test of church fellowship but Christian character. The history of Antioch was soon to show in what widely different senses these phrases

were understood by those who participated in the College movement. Again, while the Christian Connection was no doubt composed of very worthy people, there was nothing in the antecedents of the body, or in its make-up in respect to culture, social status, and the like, that prepared it to found and to nourish an institution of higher learning that should be really liberal or non-sectarian in spirit. And finally the environment of the College did not promise fit opportunity to realize, at least immediately, large ideas of education. It requires much knowledge of the facts, and much imagination besides, to picture the differences in wealth, education, traditions, and social cultivation existing between the society in which Mr. Mann had moved in Massachusetts and the society into which he came in 1853 in southwestern Ohio. The contrast is suggested, and perhaps other things as well, by two sentences that may be quoted from a letter written by Mr. Mann after his acceptance of the presidency. "Miss Beecher prays, if I want any more comfort in this life, that I will not try to build up a college at the West, and says Mr. Stowe held up his hands in deprecation at the thought. So you see what persons who *know* about things think our prospect will be." Catherine Beecher and Calvin E. Stowe had had some experience in Cincinnati. It may be added that, in 1853, as now, the State of Ohio contained many more colleges than it could properly sustain, or than were needed for the training of those seeking higher education.

But it is time to turn the shield about. Mr. Mann had no doubt become weary of Congressional life; he was not in accord with the political forces that for

the time were uppermost in Massachusetts, and the result of the gubernatorial election did not indicate that a political future lay before him in the East. On the other hand, he was strongly drawn to the work of education, and saw in Antioch College an opportunity to put to the test some long-cherished educational ideas. The two main features of the plan were particularly attractive to him: that of "redressing the long-inflicted wrongs of woman by giving her equal advantages of education," and of showing his deep aversion to sectarianism and to all systems of proselytism among Christian sects. He said plainly that if he went to Antioch he should introduce women as well as men into the faculty, not only because he thought they made as good teachers as men, but because the young ladies needed maternal as well as paternal counsel and advice. He was also attracted, it is said, by the sympathy and enthusiastic support that the founders of the College tendered him. And finally, Mr. Mann preferred to bring up his children in the West, where society was more free and less conventional than in the East.

How far Mr. Mann understood beforehand the enterprise in which he embarked the remnant of his life, is mainly a matter of conjecture. It is not improbable that the very things which another would have considered fatal objections to accepting the presidency, were to him the strongest reasons for accepting it. If the Christian Connection were not as liberal and cultivated as they might be, there was the greater opportunity and need to liberalize and cultivate them. If the West was somewhat raw, the

more pressing the need of cultivation. If conventions were not firmly established, if mind, manners, and morals were in a formative state, tradition would lie less heavily upon the new enterprise, and it would be all the easier to build from the foundation. It is perfectly certain that he fully appreciated the boundless possibilities of the Mississippi Valley, both material and spiritual, and that he realized the need of that forming and renovating agent which to him was the pledge of everything that is worth having in human life. In his address of investiture of office, he said: "Wherever the capital of the United States may be, this valley will be its seat of empire. No other valley—the Danube, the Ganges, the Nile, or the Amazon—is ever to exert so formative an influence as this upon the destinies of men; and, therefore, in civil polity, in ethics, in studying and obeying the laws of God, it must ascend to the contemplation of a future and enduring reign of beneficence and peace." The perils of the Western country, however, were on an equal scale of grandeur with its powers. The West was increasing in wealth beyond all precedent, in ancient or modern times. "Without the refining influences of education, wealth grows coarse in its manners, beast-like in its pleasures, vulgar and wicked in its ambition. Without the liberalizing and uplifting power of education, wealth grows overweening in its vanity, cruel in its pride, and contemptible in its ignorance. Without the Christian element in education, wealth grows selfish in the domestic circle, tyrannical in the State, benighted and bigoted in the Church, everywhere impious towards God. If a poor

country needs education because that is its only resource for changing sterility into exuberance, a rich country needs it none the less because it is the only thing which can chasten the proud passions of man into humility, or make any other gift of God a blessing."

Thus did his mind image the possibility, the need, and the opportunity. As to the financial side of the subject, two things may be said: one is that the scholarship plan was alluring and had not then been thoroughly tried; the other, that Mr. Mann was constitutionally incapable of weighing pecuniary matters or interests when they related to himself. For example, when he learned that the Board would not be able to pay him the salary that had been first mentioned, he merely said the moral side of the question had gone up more than the pecuniary side had gone down. And so the die was cast. Mr. Mann was much in the habit of referring his actions to his Causality, but it is perfectly evident that in this instance he rather took counsel of his Hope. There is, then, no necessary mystery surrounding the question: Horace Mann went to Antioch for the same reason that he had accepted the Secretaryship in 1837, and had gone to Congress in 1848.

Antioch College opened her doors to the world in September, 1853. President Mann delivered an inaugural address that, at the time, attracted much attention throughout the country. In the opening paragraph he dedicated Antioch College to the two great objects which can never be rightly separated from each other — The Honor of God and the Service

of Man. This is the keynote of all that follows. He shows that man—the race—was not created for narrow bounds of time, but for wide ones, and is indefinitely perfectible. He asks what youth need in order to become ministers of good to the world, and devotes the principal part of his address to answering this question. His answer is summed up in the following paragraph:

“I have now, my friends, sketched the great necessities of a race like ours, in a world like ours. A body grown from its elemental beginning in health; compacted with strength and vital with activity in every part; impassive to heat and cold, and victorious over the vicissitudes of seasons and zones; not crippled by disease nor stricken down by early death; not shrinking from bravest effort, but panting, like fleetest runner, less for the prize than for the joy of the race; and rejuvenant amid the frosts of age. A mind as strong for the immortal as is the body for the mortal life; alike enlightened by the wisdom and beacons by the errors of the past; through intelligence of the laws of Nature, guiding her elemental forces, as it directs the limbs of its own body through the nerves of motion, thus making alliance with the exhaustless forces of Nature for its strength and clothing itself with her endless charms for its beauty, and, wherever it goes, carrying a sun in its hand with which to explore the realms of Nature and reveal her yet hidden truths. And then a moral nature, presiding like a divinity over the whole, banishing sorrow and pain, gathering in earthly joys and immortal hopes, and transfigured and rapt by the sovereign

and sublime aspiration to know and do the will of God."

This discourse is perhaps the most elaborate and finished of all its author's educational addresses.¹ It has all the qualities of his mind. It is affluent in ideas, rhetorical in construction and diction, diffuse in language and illustration. It is widely removed in character from the conventional college president's inaugural address. It hardly touches the questions that most interest college instructors and administrators to-day. Whether the humanities, the mathematics, or the sciences make the best discipline; how the several groups of studies should be compounded in the curriculum; the relations of specialization and general culture; the college ideal separate and apart from the life ideal; investigation and research as instruments of teaching; whether the college instructor should be an investigator, and should lead his pupils to become such—these questions are not so much as noted. Much insistence is indeed placed upon the study of science, but this is general insistence, resting upon the old Baconian ideas that man can command Nature only by obeying her, and that knowledge is power. It is quite true that some of the questions just mentioned have come to the front since that

¹ This address, together with "The Demands of the Age on Colleges," and three baccalaureate addresses, and the Report on the "Code of Honor," may be called "Mr. Mann's Manual of College Education." In the second of these addresses he said the demand of college professors for more time, for another year, could be easily met, if only college students would observe the laws of their being. "Their present four years would become equivalent to five years, and every teacher knows that the fifth or additional year would be worth either two of the others."

day, and that the face of higher education had changed; but Horace Mann would not to-day, write an inaugural address that was very different from the one that he wrote in 1853; he would still value education and character, and find the best test of the value of a college in the extent to which it fit men and women for the practical duties of life. He would prize genuinity in deciphering an old text, or skill in the use of a test-tube he would hold quite subordinate to liberal cultivation and sound character. He would not pass by the technical questions of the teaching, but would grapple with the great issues of life and destiny. His address has the very best characterization of the work of a college that would be "a splendid lay sermon on human duty." Rev. T. Starr King said it contained enough to make a college thrive in the Sahara, and the reader would like to know the diet that flooded the brain with such intellectual electricity for the service of truth, making the sentences tingle the eye when they were read.

While it is not proposed to subject this address to formal criticism, it will not be superfluous to point out that Mr. Mann emphasizes a mistake that is a common one. Socrates. He does not, indeed, hold that knowledge and virtue are identical, but he overstates the closeness of the relationship between them. His address was a constant refutation of his theory relative to the connection of teaching and conduct; he knew that he and his friend Combe were fond of calling "the teachers" and was continually preaching them to others constantly violating them, or at least the health of his health, himself, thus proving that the active

ples of human nature, as the desires and feelings, often override the intelligence. There is, indeed, but one ground on which his whole life at Yellow Springs can be defended, and that is an absolute denial of his postulate that the laws of the body are just as much moral laws and are to be as implicitly obeyed as the laws of the soul. If the old Greek conception of balance really involves either the assumption that man's three natures are equal, or the denial of the superiority of the spirit, then there is nothing for it but to reject that conception.

But it is time to look more closely into matters with a view of discovering the characteristic features of Antioch College.

The early College publications assume standards for admission and for graduation equal to those existing at the time in the older colleges of the East. Elective studies were offered to the student in every year but the last one. Of all the seniors, the same studies, which were mainly of a philosophical and historical character, were required. An alternative course without Greek or Latin led to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Scientific and historical studies held a much more prominent place than in the traditionary curriculum of the day. Physiology and hygiene were introduced, it has been said for the first time, into the college course. The laws of physical well-being were taught to all students. Another feature is even more novel. "The study of the theory and practice of teaching," the official history runs, "was made a part of the regular course, thus incorporating the work of preparing young persons to teach in the very

organization of the college." This was the reproduction, under new conditions, of the Normal school idea. The study was, however, elective. It is not known that the professional training of teachers was introduced into another American college until a quarter of a century later. As to methods of teaching, the excessive use of text-books was discouraged, and oral instruction made a permanent feature. An early circular that Mr. Mann prepared compared teaching from books alone to administering the same prescription to all the patients in a hospital, while oral instruction was mingling the cup of healing for each individual case.

The reader will see Mr. Mann's old and favorite ideas continually cropping out in this description. On coming to a college presidency, he strove to introduce some of the same reforms that he had advocated for common schools, particularly the modernized course of study and more fruitful teaching. His eulogy on oral method has the ring of the controversy with the Boston schoolmasters.

Antioch College was coeducational. In 1853 Oberlin was the only college in the country that admitted women to its halls; and even at Oberlin most of the women took a course that was two years shorter than the regular one. It was then ingrained in the public mind that women had no real need of the higher education, and that they had not the ability to acquire it. Within the walls of Antioch, women met men as students on an equal footing. President Mann did not necessarily believe, he said, in an identical education for men and women, but he did believe in an equal

one; he was accustomed to call coeducation "our great experiment"; moreover, he did not accept certain views of woman's sphere that have since become far more current than they were in his time. Woman should be educated as woman, he held; she should not attempt to wear whiskers or sing bass.

Antioch was a pioneer in another cause. Next to Oberlin she was the first college in the country in refusing to discriminate against persons of color.

Mr. Mann, when he became a college president, did not abandon his former convictions about incentives to study and good conduct. It is claimed, apparently on good authority, that Antioch was the first college in the country to discard honors and prizes. The president declined to receive for its intended purpose a sum of money that a friend in Boston had sent him to be used in some such way. He relied upon the love of knowledge and the natural advantages which its possession conferred. This was enough; he had had occasion to use the curb quite as often as the spur. He held it indisputable that all normal children love knowledge as surely as they love honey, but they would not thrust their hands into a live bee-hive to get the honey, or enjoy it if it were poured into their ears.

But it was in the sphere of discipline and moral training that the most notable results were achieved at Antioch. Mr. Mann brought to the college a theory of moral education fully wrought out and fully in accord with his philosophy of human nature, and this theory he now had an opportunity to put into practice. This theory was the same substantially

that he had urged so eloquently upon the teachers of common schools. That the results proved his theory to be true in a general or abstract sense, no competent person will hold; that it proved eminently successful in his hands, no one acquainted with the facts will venture to deny. Holding the loftiest moral ideal, sympathetic and appreciative, full of moral enthusiasm, highly gifted with powers of persuasion, and enforcing his lofty ideal by his own lofty life, he easily acquired an unusual moral influence over young persons. He looked upon the wayward student as a lost sheep, to be followed into the wilderness, rescued, and brought home on the shoulders of the rejoicing shepherd. Horace Mann is a conspicuous example of one in whom a purely ethical religion produced, or at least accompanied, an intensity of nature that has commonly been associated with a different faith.

Mr. Mann held that a college diploma should be a certificate of character as well as of scholarship, and, so holding, he always refused graduation to immoral students. The phrases "good morals" and "good character" are no doubt often lightly used, but he always attached to them a high significance. One writer, fully conversant with the facts, says that President Mann strove to make the acquaintance and gain the confidence of every student, and to impart to him his own inspiration to live for the highest ends. The health and morals of the students were his special care, and publicly and privately he labored to guard and protect them. The earnestness and power of his words, his pathos, wit, and occasional sarcasms, would never be forgotten by any who were his pupils. In

discipline, his aim was to check the beginnings of disorder. He was firm and thorough, but ready to accept any hope of amendment. In the relations of the two sexes, his aim was by public occupations and otherwise, to give frequent opportunity for social intercourse in the presence of teachers and friends, that it might be the easier to restrain any tendency to seek private interviews. The lament of Jacob that he once applied to parents about to send their children to college, "If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved," well describes his solicitude for his students. In pleading with the wayward he often shed tears. His steady reliance upon his students, and especially upon his Senior class, as conservators of good morals, reminds us of the similar reliance of Arnold of Rugby upon the Sixth Form. He felt strong in his young battalions. He trusted the students, and they responded to his trust. When Dr. Hill was offered the presidency of Antioch, as Mr. Mann's successor, the remark was made to him that he would not be required to carry out the Utopian ideas that his predecessor had exemplified in his code of honor. Dr. Hill replied that this code of honor was the special feature of the College situation which made him wish to be Mann's successor. Attendance upon the chapel exercises and church, while encouraged, was not required of those students who had scruples of conscience. The use of tobacco was forbidden.

Besides conducting the administration, President Mann was one of the College teachers. It gives a gauge of Antioch College to say that his studies were Political Economy, Intellectual Philosophy, Moral

Philosophy, and Natural Theology. He taught a weekly Bible class, that he and others regarded as a great source of intellectual and moral power. He became a preacher, and delivered frequent sermons in the College chapel and village church. And at last he was compelled to become the financial manager of the College.

What he accomplished at Antioch was by no means all the educational work that Mr. Mann did for the West during those six eventful years. He was frequently on the lecture platform, with education or some related subject for a theme. He was active in educational meetings in Ohio, and often visited other States to promote educational interests. He was the chairman of a commission of three appointed by the Governor of Iowa to revise the laws of the State relating to schools and school lands, but he did no more than to sign the report, which was sent him in manuscript. Still there is a tradition that he opposed dividing the townships of the State into sub-districts, and contended for the township system. Mr. Mann also contributed to educational journals, and was the trusted adviser of educators in many places. Thus, when the Regents of the University of Michigan in 1856 were seeking advice relative to coeducation, they wrote to Horace Mann.

An appreciative pupil thus describes President Mann as a teacher in the classroom:

"His mode of teaching was suggestive and stimulating, not so holding his flock to the dusty, travel-worn path as to forbid their free access to every inviting meadow or spring by the way. It was his wont to

hear us recite a few hours each week, assigning special lessons to special pupils, giving each some question, some theory, some matter-of-fact inquiry on which each could pursue investigations at leisure, and prepare a paper to be read before the whole class, and be commented upon by himself. The range of these topics (when political economy was the subject) — taking in questions of agriculture and soil-fertilization, of canals and railroads, of commerce, of cotton-gins or steam-ploughs, of population, of schools and churches and public charities in their economic relations, and of those rising civilizations which bear up art and foster science, both necessitating and making possible greater civil and spiritual freedom, yet having their roots among these lower material conditions — illustrates the comprehensiveness of Mr. Mann's favorite methods of educating and instructing our minds.

“But even this was not so peculiar to him as a certain personal impulse he imparted to all who came in contact with him — the impetus with which his mind smote our minds, rousing us, and kindling a heat of enthusiasm, as it were, by the very power of that spiritual persuasion. It was in this that he was so incomparable. A man might as well hope to dwell near the sun unmoved as not to glow when brought to feel his fervid love of truth and heart-felt zeal in its quest. The fresh delight of childhood seemed miraculously prolonged through his life; truth never palled upon his mind; the world never wore a sickly light. And this cheerful spirit, which was at bottom nothing but the most living faith in God and man, was so contagious, that indifference, misanthropy, despair of attaining

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truth, gave way before it, or were transformed into a like hearty enthusiasm.

"Then, in guiding the new-roused impulse, he was so conscientious and candid, so careful not to trench on the borders of individuality, nor to let our loving respect for him so fix our eyes on his opinion that we would lose the beckon of some approximate truth, that we felt him as gentle to guide as he was powerful to inspire."

It is interesting to note that Mr. Mann's interest in the world grew as his own life lengthened, and that he became more and more absorbed in laboring for his fellow-men. For example, the day he was sixty years old, he wrote thus to his friend Combe: "To-day, according to the old family Bible, I am sixty years old. This event excites in my mind a strangely mingled feeling, made up of joy and pain, to say nothing of a readiness or unreadiness to die. I am too intensely interested in the great questions of human progress, of humanity itself, to be willing to quit the field in this stage of the conflict. The vital questions of pauperism, temperance, slavery, peace, and education, covering as they do many digits of the orb of human happiness, I cannot relinquish, I cannot leave, without a feeling of the description of breaking heart-strings from objects which they have entwined. You may tell me the work will go on, and perhaps it will; but I want it should go on in my day. I long to see it. I want to help it, to expend myself upon it, and life seems bereaved of its noblest functions and faculties if it fails in this. I feel for these causes as a fond father feels for his children whom he dreads to

leave until they are out of moral danger, and have the common securities and guarantees for future safety and welfare."

It is painful to be compelled to turn the shield about again, but we have no choice. Moreover, the story that has been told becomes more impressive when taken in connection with facts that have so far been kept out of view.

When Mr. Mann took leave of the last of his Eastern friends on starting for the West in 1853, he wept like a child. He was thinking, of course, of what he was leaving behind; but his tears were prophetic of what was before. Disappointments began the moment he set foot in Yellow Springs. The faculty found nothing in readiness but their own hearts. The buildings, all unfinished and unfurnished, stood among the stumps of great forest trees that had been cut down to make room for them. There was not a book in the library room, or a shelf on which to place a book. These matters, however, could be mended much sooner than some others that were at first far less obtrusive. The buildings were in time completed and furnished; but, before this was done, Mr. Mann discovered that the whole property was buried deep in debts. Funds were lacking with which to carry on the school. The scholarships filled the classrooms and emptied the treasury. The book-keeping was careless. Dissensions arose in the faculty that, in the end, could be suppressed only by resorting to the dismissal of teachers; and then one of those who was dismissed retorted by assailing the president and the College management in a vituperative

volume of more than three hundred pages, to which Mr. Mann and some of his associates felt compelled to reply.¹ Nor could the governing authorities be kept in line. The local business manager arrogated to himself powers that belonged to the president or board of trustees. There was constant interference in the appointment of teachers, and the trustees were sometimes at variance. When Mr. Mann's friends in the East came to the rescue of the College and claimed some recognition in consequence, the cry was raised that the Unitarians had improper designs upon the institution. The president's religious views were impugned and he was put on the defensive. The platform of liberal Christianity did not prove to be broad enough to hold all those who had co-operated in the enterprise. In a short time a large number of the Church that had founded the College were alienated from it. When Mr. Mann took membership in the Church and became a minister, the act brought from one quarter the charge that he had sacrificed his convictions, and from another quarter the criticism that he did not observe the ordinances. Many of the Christian Connection, inclining to Orthodoxy, believed in calls to the ministry and in the work of the spirit; and this wing denounced Mr. Mann because, obedient to "the laws," he forbade revivals in the College, and did not favor prayer meetings. It soon became apparent to the discerning that, with all their virtues and zeal, much the larger part of the Christian Con-

¹ *History of the Rise, Difficulties, and Suspension of Antioch College*, by Ira W. Allen. *Rejoinder to I. W. Allen's Pseudo-History of Antioch College*. Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1869.

nection had not even a faint conception of an institution of liberal education. Mann now learned in the school of bitter experience that liberal Christians could be as narrow and selfish as Calvinists; that preachers of liberality may be intolerant and critics of intolerance illiberal. Woman's rights made some trouble. The general lack of cultivation was reflected in the students who flocked to the College in increasing numbers. Of the two hundred students who presented themselves at the opening of the first year, only six were found to be prepared for the Freshman class. Some of the stories showing the prevailing ignorance of the ordinary conventionalities of Eastern society are at once amusing and painful; they show the meaning of the question that the New England colony sometimes asked, "Shall we laugh or shall we cry?" Still the students as a whole showed mental and moral qualities that evoked the president's enthusiasm, and called out from him the remark, "I can endure anything for these young people."

Things went from bad to worse. Within a year Mr. Mann's health gave way and, although he recovered from his serious illness, from that time it became more precarious. The College debts increased. His salary was unpaid. He wrote the Rev. O. J. Wait, who had questioned him about his religious views, that at Yellow Spring he was an exile from all the personal friends of his youth and life, deprived of almost all those abundant means of literary and scientific delight which until four years before had constituted so important a part of his enjoyment. If he could be released from the College,

he could earn a thousand dollars more in three months than his salary for a year, and have the other nine months to himself. He had never been among more sectarian people in his life than no inconsiderable number of the Christian Connection were; there were souls so small, he said, that if a million of them were sprinkled on the polished surface of a diamond they would not make it dusty. Friends importuned him to give up the unequal battle, but he could not be moved in his determination to stand by the College so long as there was anything to stand by. Necessity was laid upon him. Bitterly disappointed as he had been, wasting away as his strength was, he still saw the possibility of building up a strong institution that should exemplify his favorite educational and religious ideas. He wrote to Theodore Parker: "When I think of what was once my home and my sphere, a feeling which I suppose must be like Turkish fatalism comes over me, and I say to myself, 'Here you are and here you must remain. Fate has you in his grip, and resistance is impossible. No secondary cause can relieve you, at least for a time. Go on and transmute your evil into good as far as you can.' So I submit, and try to make sunrises and sunsets look as when I could see my friends in the horizon." He had written to Combe about the time that he reached Ohio: "I am well aware that the seed which I hope to sow will hardly come up in my day; but my Causality is so strong that what is to be at any time has a semblance of being immediately present." On June 18, 1856, he wrote: "In all this Great West ours is the only institution

of a first-class character which is not directly or indirectly under the influence of the old school theology; and though the mass of the people here are more liberal-minded, and free-thoughted, more open and receptive and less cast-iron than the corresponding classes in the East, yet the ministers are more narrow and bigoted. Our College, therefore, is like breaking a hole in the Chinese wall. It lets in the light of religious civilization where it never shone before. Think of this great State, with more than two millions of inhabitants, and only one Unitarian society!" January 1, 1856, he wrote to Gerritt Smith that the last sands of Antioch College were running out; that large gifts must be obtained, or the institution would sink; that the students, averaging about three hundred in number from the opening, would be dispersed; and that the College, with its promise of liberal Christianity, free thought, and coeducation, was likely to end in failure; thirty days would tell the story.

But the inevitable issue is not averted by allowing it continually to recede before us. The end was pathetic in the extreme. Nature gave her usual warnings, but Mr. Mann denied a final appeal to resign, and defended the denial by saying that the work in which he was engaged was worth a thousand such men as he was. In June, 1859, the College was sold to clear away the debts, and reorganization followed. Commencement day, which was a day of general rejoicing, gave him his death-blow; he never recovered from its labors and excitement. On that day his baccalaureate address closed with the oft-quoted words: "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory

for humanity." From this time, his little remaining strength ebbed rapidly away. He could neither eat nor rest, while noise tormented him. His family and reliefs of devoted students did what they could to assuage his sufferings. When told that he had but three hours to live, he sent for a student who had caused him much anxiety and, when he came, gave him some earnest parting counsel. Then, the room where he lay having filled with people, he exhorted all present to lives of usefulness and duty. He directed his children, when they wished to know what to do, to ask themselves what Christ would have done in the same circumstances. He said to his friend, Mr. Fay: "Preach God's laws, preach them, preach them,"—his voice rising each time he pronounced the words. He died August 2, at the age of sixty-three years. He died a martyr to Antioch College; and, next to his own spirit, the most beautiful thing in the story is the devotion of his students to him while he lived and to his memory when he was dead. He was first buried in the College grounds, but the next year his remains were removed to Providence, Rhode Island, and interred beside those of his first wife.

The tributes that Mr. Mann's death called out constitute a literature by themselves. They came from all intelligent classes, but particularly students and teachers, philanthropists and statesmen. He was mourned by the friends of temperance, the opponents of slavery, and the advocates of moral reform, as well as teachers and educators. Charles Sumner wrote to Theodore Parker from Europe: "You will

mourn Horace Mann; he has done much; but I wish he had lived to enjoy the fruits of his noble toils. He never should have left Massachusetts. His last years would have been happier and more influential had he stayed at home. His portrait ought to be in every public school in the State, and his statue in the State House."¹ Sumner's two prayers have both been answered in spirit. Mann's portrait hangs in thousands of Massachusetts schoolrooms, and a statue of him, erected by his friends and admirers, together with the school children of the State stands in front of the State House in Boston.²

¹ *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, Vol. III., p. 597.

² This statue was unveiled July 4, 1863, Dr. S. G. Howe, Governor Andrew, and other distinguished men participating in the exercises. Mr. E. L. Pierce seems to consider the statue a reply to the one of Webster previously erected. "Two visible mementos of the controversy concerning Webster remain in the statues of Webster and Mann placed in front of the State House in Boston by their respective partisans."—*Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, Vol. III., p. 211, note.

NOTE.—Dr. Thomas Hill immediately succeeded Mr. Mann as president of Antioch College. The institution was practically suspended during the Civil War. At the close of the war it was resuscitated, and control at the same time passed into the hands of the Unitarians. Since that day the College has enlisted in its service some distinguished men, and has won for itself a recognized place among the better colleges of Ohio.

CHAPTER XII

HORACE MANN'S CHARACTER AND WORK

It is hoped that the story of Horace Mann has been so told in the preceding pages as to present the essential features of his life, character, and work. At the same time, before offering, in a final chapter, some remarks on the further progress of the public school revival after he resigned his Secretaryship, it will be well to gather up into one view the characteristic facts of the story. Naturally, much more stress will be laid upon his strong points than his limitations.

The first thing to grasp is the fact that Mr. Mann was not a theorist, philosopher, or scientific pedagogue. His writings show no trace of speculative talents. In all his work, he was devoted to the practical or useful. We need not inquire how far nature and how far nurture contributed to produce this result: the plain fact cannot be mistaken. Moreover, his great successes, so far as they were due to intellectual causes, find their explanation in his practical talents. In 1837 Massachusetts was in no mood for a mere thinker in the Secretaryship of the Board of Education. Here, also, is the secret of his acceptance of phrenology as his scheme of metaphysics, and of

his taking physiology for psychology.¹ He was no crude empiricist, however, content merely to cut and try. He sought for a plan or scheme that he could make work in education and moral reform, and not finding one that suited him in the current philosophy and theology, he took up with the large but specious promises of Gall and his disciples. He was not attracted by the showman's side of phrenology, but was rather impressed by "the laws" of which his friend Combe wrote and said so much. The same mental habit made him impatient of the niceties of scholarship and the refinements of thought, and tended to make him satisfied with the substance of things.² He had a quick eye for objective facts, and his "Causality," as he fondly called it, rendered him strong in argument, but with a tendency to go to extremes, as his controversial writings very plainly show. Within its compass, his imagination was powerful.

¹ See the letter on Horace Mann that Theodore Parker wrote to Dr. S. G. Howe, on hearing of his death. — JOHN WELLS, *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*. Boston, 1864, Vol. II., pp. 341-345.

² Mr. E. L. Pierce says Charles Sumner's friends often submitted their MSS. and first proofs to him for correction, and they frequently came back so changed that their authors hardly knew them. "He cut to pieces a lecture which Horace Mann sent to him for revision, and an impartial and competent journalist, who happened to see it covered with his pencil-marks, says that every change was an improvement. Mr. Mann wrote with force and eloquence, but there was a want of chasteness and finish in his style. He adopted in this instance many of Sumner's suggestions, but rebelled against some of his rules, contending in a letter of self-vindication that they were begotten of fastidiousness," etc. — *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*. Boston, 1893, Vol. III., pp. 57, 58.

Theodore Parker, who knew him well in later life, while denying that there was any idealism or poetry in the man, said his mind was as rich in figures and as vivid as a New England meadow in June. If a poet was lost in him, as Mann himself believed, it must have been a didactic poet, a homilist in verse. In his wonted fields, he was fertile in ideas, and this fertility, together with his imagination, gave to his educational writings variety and freshness.

The second fact is that Mann's moral nature dominated his intellect so completely as to intensify its defects. His devotion to truth and right, as he saw them, his sense of duty, his unselfishness, his benevolence, were very marked. His moral earnestness was something tremendous, and constituted the first of the two great motive powers of his life. It came from his Puritan ancestry and education. In later life, he deprecated his Puritan training, but he never passed beyond its influence. He was a Puritan without the theology; or, as M. Pécaut says: "This son of the Pilgrim Fathers, unfaithful to their theological doctrine, remains the heir of their spirit." He lived the Puritan's austere life, and showed his concentration and intensity in everything that he did, even in his opposition to the Puritan's religion. The narrowness that he learned of the Puritans made it impossible for him to do them justice. He had no just conception of Calvinism as an agent in the disciplining of mankind, and once wrote to his friend Combe that for himself he preferred the religion of Black Hawk to the religion of John Calvin. Perhaps the degree to which he emancipated himself from the narrow-

ness of his early training is the best proof of his greatness, but his emancipation was not complete.

Moral enthusiasm like Mr. Mann's is generally found in the idealist and the radical. Nevertheless, he was an opportunist in the better sense of that word. While a strong antislavery man, he refused to go with the abolitionists. He voted for Robert C. Winthrop for speaker of the House of Representatives in 1849, and, when challenged, defended his vote with an opportunist's argument. "If we must have one of two men for speaker, you do nothing towards deterring me from supporting one of them on the ground that he is a bad man, so long as I can prove the other to be a worse one." Some of his best friends in the East thought his joining the church at Yellow Springs, considering his views, an act of sheer duplicity; but Mann, under the circumstances, regarded this as a useful step to take, and not immoral, as he explains in one or more of his letters. His eyes were fully opened to the limitations of his new brethren; but he still believed, as he wrote to Combe, that the Christian Connection was the best or only door through which liberal religious principles could enter the Western country. When Mr. Parker said Mann did not know that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points in morals as in mathematics, he probably had this trait of character in mind. The question involved is an old one and will never be finally answered. Idealism and opportunism flow from native qualities of mind; they are things of degree also, while both are essential to the balance of the individual man and the progress of

mankind. But in one thing Mr. Mann was an idealist: he was a teetotaler and a prohibitionist. It was his powerful moral enthusiasm that constituted the second of the two great forces that moved him to action. Perhaps no man of his State and time was more strongly moved by the modern passion for social improvement.

Humor helps the man who has it to get easily around many a sharp corner — keeps him from taking the world too seriously. On the other hand it tends, and especially in those who are wanting in energy of character, to beget that *laissez-faire* habit of mind which so easily finds excuses for evils that should be remedied or mitigated. In this quality Mr. Mann was deficient. Had he had more humor he might have been more easy-going and indifferent, and therefore less effective; it is quite certain that he would have viewed some things which annoyed him with greater toleration, and would never have written some pages that he felt constrained to write. This deficiency was rendered the more serious by his extreme sensitiveness. His friend Parker wrote: "How he licked the schoolmasters! If one of the little mosquitoes bit him, Mann thought he had never taken quite notice enough of the creature till he had smashed it to pieces with a 48-pound cannon shot, which rang through the land."

Horace Mann's contribution to educational progress was perfectly congruous with both his mental and moral character and the conditions that surrounded him. His very limitations blended with his great positive qualities to fit him for his work. He stood,

too, in just the right relation to what had gone before. It is hoped that this volume redeems, at least in part, the promise that a well-known writer made at the time that Mrs. Mann's *Life* appeared: "The history of common schools in this country, when it is written, will reveal a great amount of now almost forgotten labor in the field where the laurels of Mann were won." It was Mann's great good fortune, and the great good fortune of Massachusetts also, that all the factors necessary to a grand educational movement so fully harmonized when he took up the work.

In these pages we have been dealing with a man of action and not with a philosopher. We have told a story, not expounded a system of thought. The book is a record of facts accomplished rather than of ideas. Moreover, this life is an epistle that even the wayfaring man may read and not err therein. Everything lies open and clear. We encounter no difficulties either of opinion or of conduct to be explained. There are no intricate puzzles to be solved. Mr. Mann's works contain no deep thoughts regarding the more difficult problems of education. He had little insight into the problem of education values beyond the practical uses of studies. He placed small stress upon discipline and culture as such, and did not grasp the conception of science for science' sake. He exaggerated the value of physiology, and found no adequate place in the school for history—not even the history of the United States. He thought it better for children to study bookkeeping than algebra, because they would have occasion to use the one and not the other, and recommended

that country children should study surveying instead of geometry, because the surveyor measures the lands and lays out the roads. While he was the representative, in a sense, of the urban school, he did little towards the solution of its more difficult problems, as grading, classification, promotions, and the course of study. He believed in the supervision of teachers, but the record does not show that he appreciated the status and work of the school superintendent. In many particulars he was a man of his generation.

But it is time to drop negatives and qualifiers and to seek grounds for positive judgment. On three or four pedagogical questions Mr. Mann did lay teachers and the public under large obligations. He condemned the traditionary method of teaching reading as artificial, wasteful of time, and partly ineffectual. He saw that children in schools needed reading matter to supplement their school readers. He believed in teaching science, and advocated objective, illustrative, and oral teaching in the elementary schools. He pleaded for more rational and humane methods of disciplining and governing children. He understood the relation of mental cultivation to physical health and vigor. He laid hold of the spirit of the inductive method; he knew that the child's knowledge is made up of bits, and not of large generalizations. For example, he wrote in the Second Report: "In many of the reading books now in use in the schools, the most pithy sayings of learned men, the aphorisms in which moralists have deposited a life of observation and experience, the maxims of philosophers embodying the highest forms of intellectual

truth, are set down as First Lessons for children—as though, because a child was born after Bacon and Franklin, he could understand them, of course. While a child is still engrossed with visible and palpable objects, while his juvenile playthings are yet a mystery to him, he is presented with some abstraction or generalization, just discovered after the profoundest study of men and things by some master intellect. . . . Erudite and scientific men, for their own convenience, have formed summaries, digests, abstracts of their knowledge, each sentence of which contains a thousand elements of truth that have been mastered in detail; and, on inspection of these abbreviated forms, they are reminded of, not *taught*, the individual truths they contain. Yet these are given to children as though they would call up in their minds the same ideas which they suggest to their authors." These were all great services; we need not hesitate to call them distinct anticipations of the New Education.

Still Mr. Mann's greatest services to education must be sought in another quarter—in the field of institutions, organization, administration, legislation, and public opinion. He was a great constructive pedagogist, a wise educational statesman, an eloquent tribune of the common school. He called upon the people of all classes, as with the voice of a herald, to raise their estimate of public instruction, and to provide better facilities by which it could be furnished. He devised or adopted new educational agencies, and persuaded the people to use them. He organized public opinion, and influenced the action of

legislatures. He gave men higher ideas of the work and character of the teacher at the same time that he taught the teacher to magnify his office. He heightened the popular estimate of the instruments that are conducive and necessary to the existence of good schools. He elevated men's ideas of the value of ethical training, and made valuable suggestions looking to its prosecution. But his great theme was the relation of intellectual and moral knowledge to human well-being, individual and social. Here his faith never faltered, his ardor never cooled. In no other name did he trust for the safety of society. A confirmed rationalist, he looked with supreme confidence to the healing power of popular intelligence and virtue. In his successive reports and addresses he set forth his faith, and the grounds of it, with wonderful force of statement and fertility of illustration. To him the old theme was ever new and ever fascinating. He poured into the body politic a large measure of his own lofty faith, his great unselfishness, his burning enthusiasm. He believed in the democratizing movement of modern times, and preached the perfectibility of man. It was in this way that, as Mr. Parker said, he took up the common schools of Massachusetts in his arms and blessed them. No doubt he committed the mistake that rationalists are always prone to commit—that of overestimating the power of intelligence as a means to virtue; still it is perfectly obvious that a generous measure of such confidence is a prerequisite to the efficiency and even to the existence of public schools, and that it forms the very foundation of democratic government. How far the

last quarter of the century is tending to confirm this faith in popular institutions, and how far to shake it, is a question at once large and remote from our purpose. It is, however, clear that an optimistic view of human nature lies at the root of modern democracy and all its developments.

To measure Mr. Mann's educational influence is a much more difficult undertaking than it is to describe its character. To do this in quantitative terms is of course impossible. It is a matter of judgment, and differences of opinion might easily declare themselves. Still we can, in general terms, point out its range and compass.

First of all, it must not be supposed that Mr. Mann started the movement for popular education. That movement, as we have clearly seen, was the result of manifold causes and antedated his appearance upon the scene of action. He did not even inaugurate the movement in Massachusetts. What he did was rather to take his position at its head, just as it gained the recognition of the State, and to direct it as long as he was Secretary of the Board of Education. Much that he did in those twelve years, though by no means all, can be summarized in terms. First, the campaign of education in Massachusetts that he conducted was thoroughly successful; the people of the State were converted again to that one of their ancient institutions in which their faith had most waned — their common schools. Secondly, the Board of Education and the Secretaryship were strongly entrenched in the public confidence; before he laid down his office all serious danger of a backward step had passed away. Thirdly,

the Normal schools, the teachers' institutes, the county associations, and school district libraries were founded and placed beyond the reach of hostile influences. Fourthly, the common schools made great material progress. The appropriations more than doubled; a sum in excess of \$2,000,000 was spent in providing better schoolhouses and equipments; the wages of men teachers increased 62 per cent, of women teachers 51 per cent, while the relative number of women teachers had increased 54 per cent; a month was added to the average length of the school; the ratio of the private school expenditure to the public school expenditure fell from 75 per cent to 36 per cent; the compensation of school committees was made compulsory, and the supervision which they exercised over the schools improved in both quantity and quality about 50 new high schools were established, thus restoring secondary teaching to large numbers of pupils. Fifthly, the schools improved in studies, in text-books, in both the absolute and relative number of pupils in attendance, in methods of teaching and discipline, and, above all, in spirit. And lastly, and most important of all, these achievements were a sure pledge of that splendid progress in popular education which Massachusetts has continued to make from 1848 to the present time. It is not pretended, indeed, that Mr. Mann did all this. The Board of Education zealously seconded his efforts; a great many teachers and educators supported him with steadiness and courage; the people rallied to the standard of reform; much of the work would have been accomplished, and perhaps all of it, if Mr. Mann had continued in his law

office, or had never been born: still the fact remains, and must never be forgotten, that it was under his leadership that the long march forward was made, and that to his insight, wisdom, self-denial, and courage it was very largely due. Nothing but a knowledge of the facts is necessary to show why it is that in Massachusetts the names of Horace Mann and the public school revival are almost synonymous.¹

Outside of Massachusetts, and particularly outside of New England, it is much more difficult to estimate Mann's influence than it is within those limits. Some facts bearing upon this branch of the subject have already been presented, and others will be given in the final chapter. Here it will suffice to say that this influence soon extended to every State that shared in the early educational movement, and has since reached every State in the Union; that it was partly direct, through addresses, reports, correspondence, and other writings; partly indirect, through the influence of the Massachusetts schools, for that State, for a time, was the leader in educational reform, holding a position among the States comparable to Mr. Mann's position among educational men.

When we pass beyond our own country our path becomes still less plain. No doubt Mr. Mann's principal influence in foreign countries has been mainly indirect, making itself felt through American schools. And still his personality has been distinctly recognized by European educators.

¹ See Mr. Mann's last *Annual Report*, the opening paragraphs; also G. H. Martin's *Evolution of the Common School System of Massachusetts*, pp. 174, 175, 198.

In 1841 George Combe contributed to *The Edinburgh Review* an article on "Education in the State of Massachusetts," based upon Mr. Mann's early Reports and other documents, in which, in addition to an historical sketch, he described the work that was going forward under Mr. Mann's supervision, and drew from the story lessons that he commended to the British public.¹ The principal part of the Seventh Report was republished in England in 1846, and in 1857 had reached a fourth edition. Dr. Hodgson, the editor, said in his preface: "The absence of the advantages which a more leisurely and extensive examination would doubtless have given to our author is greatly compensated by the presence of a clear and penetrating judgment, trained by experience, and little, if at all, biassed by prejudice." *Chambers's Journal*, at the time, published liberal extracts from the Report, which it recommended to the British people as the production of "such a mind as, unfortunately, we see but rarely devoted to the subject of education; one expressing, we should say, the highest tone of moral and intellectual culture, and yet as careful respecting the practical details of its subject as it is profoundly reflective on general ideas and results."

Mr. Mann has also attracted the attention of Continental educators. Both Italian and French writers have honorably recognized his work. Perhaps the most valuable of these writings is, *The Work and*

¹ Still later Mr. Combe urged that the essential features of the Massachusetts system should be introduced into England. The so-called "Manchester Programme," drawn up in 1847, was on the lines of Combe's article in *The Edinburgh Review*. — *Life of Combe*, Vol. II., pp. 337, 338.

Writings of Horace Mann, by M. J. Gaufrés, constituting Vol. XXXIX. of the *Educational Memoirs and Documents* published by the *Musée Pédagogique*, Paris, 1888. A review of this work by Felix Pécaut, published in the *Revue Pédagogique*, is one of the most eloquent articles on Mr. Mann that has been written. "I wish," says M. Pécaut, "that the biography of Horace Mann might be known not only to teachers of Normal schools, but to the pupils and to our innumerable staff of primary teachers. I wish that it might be circulated among the professors of universities and colleges. This is by no means all that I could desire. I should like to see it in the hands of every public man."¹

Mr. Mann's influence was neither slight nor transient. It survived both his resignation of the Secretaryship and his death; it has continued strong to the present time, and promises to be one of the permanent spiritual powers of the country. Reference has already been made to the impression made upon men's minds by his death. The centennial of his birth was commemorated throughout the land, the memorial services that were held, and the essays and articles that were published, testifying in a most eloquent manner to the hold that he has on the intellect and conscience of the nation. A bibliography of Mann prepared at the time, which is still incomplete, embraces more than seven hundred titles.² Some of these are duplicates, and

¹ A translation of M. Pécaut's article will be found in the *Life and Works of Horace Mann*, Vol. V., Appendix.

² *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1895-1896*; Chap. XVII.

many more relate to politics; but when all abatements have been made, the list shows most happily how generally and deeply Mr. Mann moved the American people on the subject of education.

If, as the philosophers tell us, it is helpful and strengthening for the disciples of good causes to study their history, familiarizing themselves with their origins, and imbuing themselves with the ideas and the spirit of their founders and confessors, then it must be helpful and strengthening for all believers in public education to become acquainted with the life and work of Horace Mann. No better prescription can be made for the teacher and educator, the public man and the patriot. He may have exaggerated the healing power of knowledge; nevertheless, if the public schools, at any time, become weak and sickly, a new baptism in the thought and spirit of him who did so much to extend and improve them will be their best restorative.

This view of Mr. Mann's work has been limited to the common school field for two reasons. It is extremely difficult to estimate his influence upon higher education. On this point good judges would probably differ widely. A conservative opinion is no doubt the wiser one. But however that may be, all competent men will agree that Mann's reputation rests, and must ever rest, upon the work that he did for common schools. But even here, we must avoid exaggeration; the facts show conclusively that such States as New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio were in full motion before Mann came to the Secretaryship, and that this motion was quite independent of New England.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PROGRESS OF THE COMMON SCHOOL REVIVAL

THIS is a large subject to bring within the compass of a single chapter. Fortunately, however, only the bolder outlines need to be traced out.

The second chapter of this work showed that the Northern States of the American Union actively shared in the general educational quickening that marked the first half of the present century; also that the Southern States participated in it, but to a much less degree. When Horace Mann first appeared on the scene, some of the States were already in active motion, and others were ready to move when the needed impulse should be applied. The creation of the Massachusetts Board of Education soon caused the first class of States to move more rapidly, and gave the needed impulse to the others. Naturally, neighboring States were the first to respond. Naturally, too, the action of Massachusetts set the copy for other States to follow, especially the New England States where the general conditions were very much the same. In other words, the first step that many of the States took was to establish a central State authority by means of which educational information could be gathered and diffused, and some intelligent direction be given to the public schools.

Connecticut was the first State to move. In 1838 her legislature passed an act creating a board of common school commissioners, with a secretary as chief executive officer. The passage of this act was mainly due to the eloquent advocacy of a man who stands second in the educational revival only to Horace Mann, and who, in one important respect, rendered the cause services still more distinguished. This man was Henry Barnard, now the Nestor of American educators. Mr. Barnard was a lawyer and a member of the legislature, a thorough scholar, and deeply interested in the subject of education.¹ Like Mr. Mann, he yielded to opportunity and became the first Secretary of the State Board. The newly created Board and its Secretary immediately set to work on the lines that are already familiar to us. Conventions were held, information collected, reports made and published, the teachers' institute invented. *The Connecticut Common School Journal* was launched and new school legislation procured. Apparently, everything was in excellent trim when, in 1842, the legislature, alleging the inutility and expense of the new measures, repealed the act of four years before and most of the valuable subsequent legislation. The blow was a paralyzing one. Mr. Barnard now devoted himself for more than a year to collect-

¹ Henry Barnard was born in Hartford, Connecticut, January 24, 1811. He was educated in the common district school, the academy, and Yale College, graduating from this institution in 1830. He travelled in the United States and Europe, taught for a time in Pennsylvania, and came to the bar in 1835. In entering upon his educational career, he renounced brilliant professional prospects, not to speak of political preferment. This was but the beginning of his self-sacrifice. Mr. Barnard was moved by the impulse that moved Mann and his coadjutors.

ing materials for an elaborate work to be entitled, *History of Public Schools and the Means of Popular Education in the United States*, but before it was prepared he was again drawn into active public service.

In 1843 the legislature of Rhode Island passed an act creating the office of commissioner of common schools. This was done largely through Mr. Barnard's exertions, and on its passage he accepted, at the hands of the governor, an appointment to the new office. He devoted five years to organizing public instruction in that State, and then, his health failing, he resigned and returned to Connecticut. In his absence the Connecticut legislature had slowly been undoing the precipitate work of 1842. In 1845 it had made the Commissioner of the State School Fund superintendent of common schools, *ex officio*. Then in 1849 the legislature passed a new act founding a State Normal school, the principal of which should also be State superintendent of schools. Dr. Barnard was at once placed in this responsible office, which he continued to hold until 1855, devoting himself mainly to the duties of the superintendency.¹

The other New England States fell into line one by one. In 1845 Vermont created the office of State superintendent of schools, New Hampshire provided for a commissioner of schools the next year, and Maine created a State board of education with a secretary about the same time. In all these States

¹ Henry Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. I., pp. 659-738, republished from *The Connecticut Common School Journal*; also *The North American Review*, July, 1848.

the full equipment of new educational machinery was in due course of time provided.

West of the Hudson River the waters were already moving. Particularly was this the case in New York. Provision was made for establishing teachers' departments in certain academies of the State as early as 1833—a policy that has been continued until the present time. So much of the United States Deposit Fund as fell to the State in accordance with the law of 1837 was applied to augment the school fund.¹ County boards of visitors were appointed as early as 1839, charged with the duty, which they performed, however, gratuitously, of visiting the common schools. County superintendents came in 1840, were afterwards discontinued, and were then permanently restored in 1856. *The District School Journal* was established by Mr. Francis Dwight at Geneva in the same year, and shortly became the official organ of the State educational executive. The first institute was held in 1843, and the State Normal School at Albany opened its doors, with David P. Page as principal, the next year. In 1845 a declaration of the State superintendent against the policy of the school-rate bill placed that issue clearly before the people, but the free school was not won for more than twenty years thereafter. Finally, the office of State superintendent became wholly independent in 1854, when it was finally separated from the office of Secretary of State.

Still farther to the west the settlement of the country and the educational revival were contempo-

¹ *The History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837*. By Edward G. Bourne, New York, 1886.

aneous. The first Ohio school law, passed in 1821, was a very imperfect law, but it was considerably strengthened in 1825 and 1828. In 1837 the office of State superintendent of common schools was created, and Samuel Lewis was appointed to the position three months before Horace Mann became the Massachusetts Secretary. The next year a new school law was enacted, which a competent authority has called "the most advanced school law then enacted in any State."¹ In a few years reactionary influences abolished the office of State superintendent, and the cause received a backset similar to that already seen in Connecticut. Gradually, however, more enlightened councils prevailed, and in 1853 a long step forward was taken in the enactment of a new school law to which all subsequent laws have been only amendments.

The history of no State shows the traces of foreign influence in its educational system more clearly than the history of Michigan. Omitting the French *habitans*, the pioneers of Michigan were men mainly from New England, New York, and Ohio, and they carried with them the ideas then current in those States. In 1835 the first State constitution was framed, when, most fortunately, a copy of Cousin's *Report on Public Instruction in Prussia* was put into the hands of the member of the convention whose duty it was to frame the educational article. The result was that this article, when it finally passed the convention, provided for a State superintendent of public instruction, a system of common schools and township libraries,

¹ Dr. E. E. White, "History of Public Education in Ohio for Fifty Years." — *The Ohio Educational Monthly*, August, 1897.

and for husbanding the resources that Congress had provided for a State university. The copy of the Cousin Report that wrought this beneficent work was the property of Rev. John D. Pierce,¹ a Congregational minister and alumnus of Brown University, who also contributed his personal influence to the end in view. On the State's coming into the Union, Mr. Pierce became State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and devoted himself heart and soul for six years to the organization of the educational system of Michigan. It was greatly owing to his labors that this system, when finally completed, recognized the leading "Prussian ideas," so called—elementary schools, high schools, and a university, all supported and supervised by the State. This system, and especially the State university, has exercised a profound influence upon the educational institutions of the younger States, particularly of the West.

But we cannot continue the enumeration of States; the public school system has progressively overspread the country. Instead of two or three systems of State schools, as at the beginning of the century, there are now as many as there are States and organized Territories. These systems present considerable diversities of organization, and still more of instruction; what we call the American System of Public Education is less homogeneous than the French system, or even the German; but its cardinal features throughout all the States are, after all, practically the same. Not every State has a board of education, but every one has a

¹ A brief sketch of Mr. Pierce will be found in Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. XV., p. 640.

central executive educational authority that supervises more or less thoroughly the operation of the system. In respect to efficiency there are considerable differences. Sometimes an American State superintendent of public instruction approaches a European minister of education in the powers and efficiency of his office, but much oftener he approaches more nearly the status of the head of a bureau of information and statistics. The prevailing jealousy of centralization has, at this point, stood in the way of progress. There can be little doubt that we shall find it wise, as time goes on, to strengthen our central educational authorities.

In respect, also, to local superintendence, the States present considerable divergency of practice. Nearly all of the Western States, for example, have established the county superintendency. New England, on the other hand, clinging closely to town government, has found no place for such an officer. Local superintendence is undoubtedly one of the problems of the future.

The most phenomenal fact pertaining to the public school movement is the proportions to which it has attained. The statistics have swollen to dimensions that would have amazed Horace Mann and his companions could they have anticipated them. All the agencies of improvement in which he trusted have far outgrown his wildest expectation. When he laid down his office in 1848, the expenditure for common schools in Massachusetts was \$749,943; in 1896 it was \$11,829,191. At the first of these dates there were 165,132 pupils enrolled in the summer schools, and 185,000 in the winter schools; at the second date

the number of pupils enrolled in the schools during the year was 424,353. In 1848 there were 2424 men teachers and 5510 women teachers, a total of 7924. In 1896 the corresponding figures were 1078 men and 11,197 women, or 12,275 in all. These figures would be still more impressive if we could eliminate the duplicates from the number of pupils and teachers given for the earlier period. In 1896 the total value of school property was \$36,780,000; the average length of the school year was 177 days; the average expenditure per pupil \$36.78, while the pupils of legal school age in private schools were but 13.65 per cent of those in the public schools. In place of three small Normal schools were ten large ones. Instead of there being but few more than 200 teachers in the State who were constantly engaged in teaching, as in 1837, a very large majority of the teachers employed in the public schools could fairly be styled professional teachers. The population of the State increased from 994,514 in 1850 to 2,238,943 in 1890. Horace Mann interested himself greatly in schoolhouses and school grounds; could he revisit the earth he would be grateful as well as astonished to see the progress that has been made, not only in Massachusetts, but all over the country.

For the nation at large we do not possess the materials to enable us to make a similar statistical comparison. It is sufficient to say that, if the rate of growth from 1892 to 1896 shall be maintained four years longer, the public schools of the country will enter upon the twentieth century with more than 15,500,000 pupils enrolled, more than 426,000 teachers, and an annual expenditure exceeding \$212,000,000.

These statistics are not presented merely because they show the extraordinary growth of public education; they show also the enormous effort and cost of any serious attempt at national education in an extensive country. The proposition to educate the whole people is a modern idea, and to realize it, even in the imperfect manner seen at present, is an undertaking the magnitude of which few men have adequately considered. No nation of the past or present has equalled the United States in the magnitude of its educational budget.

Mr. Mann saw, as all discerning men of his time saw, that slavery was the most formidable barrier to the educational progress of the United States. At the South it was practically insuperable so long as slavery existed. Intelligent men cannot be held as property, bought and sold like cattle. There was, therefore, no safety for the peculiar institution of the South, unless the slaves were rigidly excluded from all educational advantages. Moreover, their rigid exclusion led naturally to the placing of a low estimate upon popular education, even for the white population. Some Southern statesmen, as Mr. Jefferson, strove to found good systems of public instruction, but they were never able to cope with existing conditions. The Civil War, by destroying slavery, opened the way for the common school in fifteen States. Nor was this all; it also created the most urgent necessity for its introduction. The result is that, the last third of a century, the South has made a degree of educational progress that would surprise us, were we not so in the habit of comparing it with the still greater progress

of the North. What is more, the war stimulated education powerfully at the North as well as at the South, because it was believed that the war was largely due to the Southern insufficiency of schools. The Franco-Prussian war also exerted an educational effect in the United States similar to that felt in European countries.

Another phenomenal result of the Revival has been the productiveness of the American educational press — text-books, books of reference for schools and other supplementary material, and pedagogical publications. No people, perhaps, equals us in the production of school books; attention, however, will be confined to the other branch of the subject.

Since *The Common School Journal* a swarm of educational journals has come from the press — weeklies, semi-monthlies, monthlies, and quarterlies, besides year books, pamphlets, and other occasional publications. The newspapers and literary magazines of the country also accord increasing space to education. This great mass of printed matter ranges in value all the way from absolute worthlessness to the highest excellence. Most of the educational journals have been so ephemeral that the words of Scripture, "Truly their days are as grass," have been applied to them. Some of the journals that have perished were distinctly worthy of a happier fate than an early death, and most of them, we may believe, have been the means of accomplishing some good. As time lengthens, the journals that are strongest in ability and financial backing tend to hold, if not to assume, positions of leadership.

Incomparably the most valuable of all our educational journals, and of all our pedagogical literature also, is *The American Journal of Education*, comprising thirty-one octavo volumes of more than eight hundred pages each, edited and published in quarterly series by Dr. Henry Barnard, at Hartford, 1856-1881. Dr. Barnard had the good fortune to gather up and preserve a very large amount of rich material that would not have survived another generation. For the sources of American educational history, his monumental work is indispensable to every scholar. As he turns its pages, the student finds little pertaining to the work itself to ruffle his national complacency but the unwelcome fact that it cost its editor and publisher, over and above the receipts, his private fortune of more than fifty thousand dollars. Mr. R. H. Quick, author of *Educational Reformers*, had this fact in mind when he spoke of Dr. Barnard's self-sacrificing labor as having given to the English language an educational literature. *The American Journal of Education* is, no doubt, the most valuable publication of the kind existing to-day in any language.

Of books, much the same must be said as of journals, only no American writer has produced an educational book that for a moment takes rank with Dr. Barnard's *magnum opus*. As a class, the books produced have been almost as ephemeral as the periodicals.¹ Much the most valuable of the early books was David P. Page's *Theory and Practice of Teaching*—a work that has been more widely circulated than any competitor, that is still read with profit by teachers,

¹ See *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. I., p. 700.

and that, perhaps, better deserves to be denominated a classic than the work of any other American writer.

At first our educational literature was so thoroughly practical that even the "theory" which figures in the traditional "theory and practice" was nothing but the reflective side of art. For example, the index to one of the current editions of Page's work has four references under the word "consciousness"; but in every case the word is used in a loose popular sense, never in a scientific one. While we are not likely to lose this practical element from our pedagogical literature, since the vast majority of teachers need it and it is congruous with the National genius, still it is encouraging that our students and writers are entering heartily into the scientific movement that is so characteristic of the time. Especial mention may be made of the laboratory psychology and child study. In the mean time, much of the best foreign thought, and particularly German thought, has been domesticated in good English translations. Moreover, the number of those who are able to consult the original sources is rapidly increasing. The day is long past when German type cannot be found within easy reach of Boston, or even when there is only one book shop in that city that keeps French and German books on sale.¹

The public school system has taken a peculiarly strong hold of the West. The way was clear and the need was great. For two generations the public schools have been growing up in the new States, side

¹ Dr. A. P. Peabody, *Harvard Reminiscences*, pp. 117, 118. T. W. Higginson, "Cheerful Yesterdays," *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1897, p. 59.

by side with their other civil institutions. As a consequence, private schools, whether elementary or secondary, and denominational colleges play a smaller part in the education of the Western people than they play in the old States of the East.

A peculiarly interesting topic is the reciprocal influence of the East and the West upon each other in the grand educational march. The influence of the East is a familiar story, but not much has been heard of the influence of the West. The older school systems of the East have been more or less copied at the West: the Revival was first distinctly seen and felt there. The early advocates of the Revival, as Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, and others, often visited the Western States to aid the cause with their counsel and inspiration. Eastern money has flowed in rich streams to found Western colleges and seminaries. Eastern teachers in great numbers have found in the West fields of usefulness. Horace Mann died the president of an Ohio college, and Henry Barnard, after refusing in succession the headship of the State Universities of Indiana and Michigan, accepted, and for a short time held, the Chancellorship of the University of Wisconsin. All these things the West, at the same time that she asserts her own distinct educational history and existence, gratefully acknowledges. Upon the whole the indirect influence of the East upon the West has been greater than the direct. The men and women of the East who flocked to the West to find homes for themselves and their children, carrying their familiar ideas and institutions with them, did more to shape educational development than

all the systems and teachers that ever crossed the Allegheny Mountains.¹ The Western educational systems have been developed by capable men under new conditions, and it would be strange indeed if they were only tame imitations of the older Eastern ones. On the contrary, they contain original elements of the greatest value. The State university, for example, not only rounds out the Western systems, but it more or less fashions and animates the grades of instruction that lie below it. It is most important to observe, also, that the absence of tradition and convention, and the freedom of Western society — the fact that the ground was unencumbered — has enabled Western educators to give a significance to the local superintendency and to the public high school that Eastern educators have not always been able to attain. Withal, Western teachers and Western schools are marked by the vigor and enthusiasm of the Western people. The original features of the Western systems have reacted upon the East; but more important forces have been the use of Western books and journals, the influence of Western example, and the work of such Western teachers and superintendents as have gone to serve in the East.

¹ The history of the various societies organized or assisted at the East for the purpose of promoting education at the West is of especial interest. Mention may be made of the Board of National Popular Education, having its headquarters at Cincinnati, Ohio, the function of which was to prepare and send women teachers to the West. This Board was under the executive management of ex-Governor William Slade of Vermont, and in the eleven years of its history it sent out no fewer than four hundred and eighty-one teachers. — BARNARD, *The American Journal of Education*, Vol. XV., pp. 271-273.

We have already marked the fact that modern education is national and democratic. It is in part a cause and in part an effect of the great democratizing movement of modern times. How solicitous Mr. Mann was that the American common school should be a real people's school, we have also considered. He saw, as all discerning men must now see, that for an American State to support public schools for the poor only, such as the pauper schools, was a stigma on our civilization; nay, more, that it was a disease in our vitals. Accordingly, the hope of doing something to diffuse and carry out the democratic theory of public instruction was one of the causes that drew him to the Secretary's office in 1837. Through the school he hoped to strengthen and perpetuate the republic. Along this line great progress has been made in fifty years; the pauper school has disappeared, and it is no longer considered a reproach for a man in the better walks of life to send his child to a public school. At present, perhaps, this school is the most democratic of our institutions. Moreover, the present magnitude of the system depends upon this condition being maintained; while the public school can be at once national and democratic only when it is made what Horace Mann strove to make it,—the best school possible.

The beneficial effect of the fact last stated it would be hard to overestimate. Consider the character of our population, what a medley it is! Horace Mann could hardly have anticipated a day when the looms of Lowell would be tended almost exclusively by laborers of foreign birth or extraction, or a day when

the Irishman and the French Canadian would till and own the lands of the Puritans. While our people are divided in so many respects, their children, to a very great degree, meet and mingle in the public school houses. It is not only possible, but easy, to exaggerate the benefits of school education in comparison with hereditary character, or the formative influence of the home and society at large; but it is certainly not easy to exaggerate the value of the public schools as laboratories of the national life. If the American people ever become measurably homogeneous, this achievement will be largely the work of the schools.

It is almost unnecessary to say that the schools never could have been made democratic without their being made also free. In but few States had this end been gained in 1848. The school bill, or rate bill, put upon the school a mark similar to that imposed by the name "pauper school," but less odious. This form of tuition-charge was not abolished in Ohio until 1853, and in New York not until 1867. But now, happily, it has either disappeared altogether, or has retired into very obscure corners. Mr. Mann's contention that the property of the State should educate the youth of the State is a settled policy.

In the minds of educators two ideas have long been associated,—gratuitous instruction and compulsory instruction. In 1840 Mr. Mann did not think compulsion either desirable or practicable. In 1847 he had so far changed his mind as to admit its necessity in the cases of those persons who are insensible to the education of their children. Were he living now, he would be a full convert to coercion. Experience has

conclusively shown that "the starry lights of knowledge," hung along the avenue of life, which so fired his imagination, will not lure all the children of the land into schools, either public or private. Indifference or selfishness often overrides parental affection and the suggestions of prudential reason. More and more our educators and legislators are coming to see these facts. No American State has yet reached the happy condition of the better educated States of Germany, where illiteracy is practically unknown; but in several of the States both public opinion and the law now recognize the fact that compulsion must be brought to re-enforce gratuity. No community has made greater progress in this direction than Mr. Mann's own State of Massachusetts, where the law provides that the local school committee, in order to satisfy itself that the pupils in private schools or church schools are receiving as good an education as they would receive in the public schools, shall exercise a certain supervision over them. Other States will be obliged to take the same step in order to make their compulsory laws effective. Akin to this legislation are the constitutional provisions found in some States, that deny the right of suffrage to men who are wholly illiterate.

It has been found that the free school involves some things that were not at first generally taken into the account. It was then assumed that if the State furnished the schoolhouse and furniture, the apparatus and library, the janitor's service, and the instruction, this would amply meet its obligations. Soon, however, it was discovered that the so-called "indigent" pupils must also be provided with books. Next,

it was perceived that this arrangement implied some reflection upon the pupils thus assisted. Finally, the question was raised whether the logic of the free school does not involve free books as well as free tuition. Accordingly in some States, and in cities in other States, pupils—at least, pupils below the high school—are supplied with books. Experience has shown that free books are a measure of economy, and that they tend to correct some evils that have sprung up in connection with the introduction and use of text-books. Naturally, therefore, there is a steady growth of conviction in that direction.

The educational revival in the United States should be still more closely connected with what had already been done in Europe. The Renaissance gave the world an exclusive type of education; it might prevail the world over, but, as respects classes, it could never become general. Exotic culture means culture for the few, and the Humanists held stoutly to Greek and Latin, and looked with disfavor upon vernacular languages. Humanism meant literary education in foreign tongues. Even Luther, man of the people as he was, placed the teaching of German after Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The potency of modern national education lay in the Realistic movement. Realism in essence was as democratic as Humanism was aristocratic. It was Comenius and his successors who, putting the vernacular in the schools, and resorting to Nature for education-material, made popular education possible. Their pedagogical ideas harmonized completely with the spirit of modern society. In particular, Pestalozzi and Fröbel, by emphasizing sense-

intuition, the teaching of the masses, and the unity of man's nature, became the immediate and necessary precursors of Horace Mann, his coadjutors and successors.

From an early period in the history of the Common School Revival, German influence has been steady, strong, and wholesome. It has been derived from the introduction of German pedagogical literature, from the frequent visits of our pedagogists and teachers to German schools, from the attendance of our scholars upon German universities, and the not inconsiderable number of German teachers who have found employment on this side of the Atlantic. Without this influence, our schools would have moved in much the same direction that they have gone, but less uniformly and rapidly.

The highly scholastic character of the old education, and the effort that Mr. Mann made to carry instruction into more fruitful fields, has been recognized on preceding pages. In the controversy with the Boston masters, Mr. Mann said the two great needs of the American teacher were emancipation from the text-book and the employment of oral instruction. In objective teaching, laboratory work, and illustrative methods, great progress has been made since that day. Manual training is calling out more and more of the public interest, not so much because it is thought to fit boys for trades, as because it is believed strongly to develop the mind and character of children. The kindergarten, passing beyond the experimental stage of private patronage, is gaining a firm footing in the public schools; firmer, per-

haps, than in any other country, and certainly firmer than in the country of Fröbel. More than this, the influence of Fröbel's ideas upon primary education is much farther reaching than the direct influence of the kindergarten. In part, the change in respect to method is so great that some judicious pedagogists think it not untimely to insist that the book has a status in the school, and to emphasize the printed page as a contribution to human cultivation.

The expansion of the public school course of study is an interesting subject. When we take in the high school, as well as the elementary grades, this expansion has been extraordinary. To the three R's, and one or two other subjects, that made up the old public school course, languages, literature, mathematics, science, and history have been added, until the high school graduate of to-day receives an education fully equal in range to that furnished not so very long ago by the colleges. Some competent judges look upon the present course of study as overgrown and congested. Still the fact remains, that the American boy who enters college at the age of eighteen or nineteen is two years behind the German or French boy of the same age who is looking to the university. One of the questions of the time is how this interval can be remedied. We hear much of shortening and enriching the elementary school curriculum; the experiment of bringing some of the high school studies, as Latin, German, and Geometry, into the lower grades, which is now being tried in many schools, thoughtful teachers and educators are watching with peculiar interest.

In respect to religious teaching in the public school, opinion oscillates between two extremes. The dogmatician condemns the school because it excludes formal religious teaching; the secularist contends that even the reading of the Bible shall be prohibited. Practice moves through a much smaller arc. The Massachusetts law thus affirms the substance of the rule for which Horace Mann contended: "The school committee shall require the daily reading in the public schools of some portions of the Bible without note or oral comment." The section adds a further provision that, in spirit, is of general currency: "But they shall not require a scholar, whose parent or guardian informs the teacher in writing that he has conscientious scruples against it, to read from any particular version, or to take any personal part in the reading; nor shall they direct to be purchased or used in the public schools school books calculated to favor the tenets of any particular sect of Christians." Several States follow Massachusetts in requiring portions of the Bible to be read, but some formally deny such reading. No State permits denominational instruction in its public schools. In Ohio the whole question is within the competence of the board of education. The Supreme Court of Wisconsin has held that the use of the Bible in the schools is a violation of the State constitution. Upon the whole, the discretion of the teacher has more to do in determining whether the Bible shall be read than any other influence. So it cannot be said that the religious question is finally settled. There are those who think the French solution will ultimately commend itself to public favor,

viz.: A distinctly secular or civil school, with a holiday in the middle of the week that will allow pupils who desire to do so to go to the minister or the priest for religious instruction.

Another form of the sectarian question assumed prominence, and has, apparently, been decisively answered. The answer is the denial of the public funds or credit to any and all sectarian educational establishments, which, in a majority of States at least, is affected by means of a constitutional provision. For example, the revised constitution of New York provides: "Neither the State nor any subdivision thereof shall use its property or credit or any public money, or authorize or permit either to be used, directly or indirectly, in aid or maintenance, other than for examination or inspection, of any school or institution of learning wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet or doctrine is taught." And similar provisions are found in many State constitutions.

Nothing caused the early advocates of educational reform in Massachusetts keener regret than the decay of the grammar school — the ancient secondary school of New England. To effect its restoration, in fact if not in form, was one of the principal motives of the new movement. The restoration came in the public high school, which performs the double duty of fitting many candidates for the college and university, but a much larger number for real life. The question has arisen whether one school can well answer both these purposes; whether, in a word, the

best school for the student fitting for college is also the best school for the pupil who goes at once to work or to business. Passing by the theoretical question, two or three things seem clear. One is that the people will insist upon the State's furnishing college preparation, at least in those States that have State universities. The second is that the public high school will continue to be employed for the same double purpose as at present. Still a third is that educators will be compelled to consider more closely than hitherto the very important question, whether colleges and universities require to be more closely adjusted to practical life, and if so, how this adjustment shall be made. How far do the two classes of students found in the high schools need the same studies? How far can the same work be made to answer the purposes of both of them? The public high school will soon be in a position, if it is not already, to decline to take the law from the institutions of higher learning. It will rather be in a position, we will not say to dictate the law to those institutions, but to meet them in the freest conference on common interests, with the fullest conviction that its status and requirements will receive due recognition. But while the public high school will continue to perform the double office, it will certainly continue to be primarily what it now is, a final school for the many rather than a preparatory school for the few. What is more, all improvements in this school will render the public schools more worthy of the name long ago conferred upon them, "The

People's Colleges."¹ In the mean time all the people must be convinced, and particularly those people who do not use it, that the high school ministers to the common good, since it tends strongly to raise the level of the average culture, and especially to improve the instruction of the elementary school.

The early interest of the reformers in voluntary associated effort has been remarked in the proper place. This interest has grown until the present time. The National Educational Association, which held its thirty-sixth annual meeting in July, 1897, but the beginnings of which must be sought still farther back, is a powerful organization gathering its members from every State in the Union and counting them by the thousand. Next come the great sectional organizations, as the American Institute of Instruction and the Southern Association. These are followed by the State associations, and these again by the local organizations of various names and kinds. Composed, as they are, of the most active and progressive members of the teaching body, these associations and societies, through their meetings and publications, besides their internal effect, exert no little influence upon public opinion. Their publications form a considerable part of the yearly burden of educational literature. While, as a rule, these organizations are open and free to teachers of all grades and descriptions, and their membership is quite heterogeneous, still their presid-

¹ This name was first conferred, it is believed, by E. D. Mansfield of Cincinnati, in an address before the College of Teachers, 1834. See Mansfield's *Memoirs of the Life and Services of Daniel Drake, M.D.* Cincinnati, 1855, p. 244, note.

ing genius is that of the public school. The National Association has taken seriously in hand the work of educational investigation, as witness the reports of its committees on secondary, elementary, and rural schools.¹

We have already had occasion to observe the great relative increase of the urban population of the country that began to declare itself about the time that the Common School Revival got well under way. In 1890 nearly one-third of the people of the United States lived in concentrations of population of 8000 and upwards. This growth has affected education most profoundly. The cities own more than half the school property of the country, and expend nearly one-half of the school revenue, but they do not do a proportionate amount of teaching. The great disparity between the per cents of wealth and expenditure on the one hand, and the number of children taught on the other, is due in large part to the greater cost, other things being equal, of urban education. But this is by no means an adequate explanation; in some part the disparity represents the superior advantages that the children of the city, as a whole, enjoy; better schoolhouses and appliances, better teachers, and longer terms of attendance. In rural districts where the population is sparse and the schools small, the disparity is very great indeed. It is a very significant fact that in large districts the population is declining; thus more than four hundred

¹ *Report of the Committee on Secondary School Studies, etc., 1893; Report of the Committee of Fifteen on Elementary Schools, 1895; Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools, 1897.*

counties, or five times as many as there are in the State of Ohio, showed such a decline in the decade 1880-1890. The policy established in New England at the middle of the last century, of abandoning the town as the school unit of administration and of dividing it into a number of small autonomous school districts, which has been generally adopted, is producing its necessary results. These evils were already apparent to Horace Mann in 1846, when he condemned the Massachusetts Act of 1789 as the most unfortunate piece of school legislation in the history of the State, and strove to consolidate the schools, both in respect to administration and attendance. The public is now awakening to the existence of the same evils; men are inquiring concerning the abolition or consolidation of school districts, town or township administration, and the concentration of pupils in sufficient numbers to make good schools possible; in other words, they are asking whether the peculiar advantages of the urban school can be introduced into the country, and, if so, to what extent and in what way. Already important reforms have been effected in a number of States, and the signs of the times lead us to expect that they will be accomplished on a still more extended scale. In fact, there is much reason to believe that the new century will see rural school reform take its place among the foremost educational questions of the time.¹

Mention has been made of the land grants that Congress has made to the public land States for common schools. In all, these grants amount to about

¹ See *The Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools*, the National Educational Association, 1897.

70,000,000 acres. Texas, also, has liberally endowed her schools in the same way. These dedications, which are perpetual in character, and so constitute permanent endowments, have materially influenced the history of National education. First, the policy of the government, which was foreshadowed as early as 1785, stimulated the non-public land States of the East and South to create similar endowments out of their own resources. At present, a large majority of the States have permanent school funds, some of them amounting to more than \$10,000,000 each. In the second place, these endowments have influenced educational development in two ways. They hastened the growth in the body politic, and particularly in the West, of a distinct educational consciousness, and also facilitated the provision and maintenance of schools. The men who established the endowment policy appear to have thought that the income from the school lands within the several States would either greatly ease taxation for school purposes or make it altogether unnecessary. At least the endowments would serve as a balance-wheel in the educational machinery of the State. To only a limited extent have these expectations been fulfilled. It is probable that the present funds arising from the school lands are quite as large as the Fathers supposed they would be, at least in the more fortunate States; but the cost of public education has so far outgrown all early expectations that the income from the funds, in most cases, is a mere pittance in comparison. For the year 1895, 1896 the total school revenues of all the States, not including balances or pro-

ceeds of bond notes, were \$181,394,000, of which only \$7,646,000 was derived from permanent funds. It is, therefore, perfectly clear that public education in the United States has far outgrown all present or prospective endowments. There is no objection to Massachusetts, New Jersey, and other States augmenting their school funds, if they wish to do so; it is the plain duty of all States now in the possession of such funds to husband them closely; but it is clear as demonstration that the public schools must depend less and less upon permanent funds and more and more upon public taxation. Once more, the permanent school funds have sometimes proved to be an injury rather than a benefit, causing the people to depend unduly upon them and to deny the schools needed support from taxation. It is admitted that, for a time, Connecticut's famous school fund was a curse to the people of the State, and there is reason to fear that younger States are repeating her example.¹ The university lands have, relatively speaking,

¹ Rev. S. J. May, writing of the state of things in Connecticut in 1822, says: "The income of the fund being enough to pay all the teachers throughout the State at low rates, their wages were fixed at those rates; and the people in most districts utterly refused to subscribe, or to be taxed, to increase the compensation for teaching. Moreover, as the fountain whence the supply came belonged alike to all, each man endeavored to get the accommodation of a puddle for his chickens as near as might be to his own door. A new district, therefore, was 'set off,' wherever the number of children in a neighborhood was large enough to give a pretext for one; and another division of the income helped to keep the wages too low to command the services of competent teachers."—*The Revival of Education, etc.*, Syracuse, 1855. See also *Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools*, pp. 24, 25, 126, 127, for full information on the subject.

done more good and less harm than the common school lands.

We have already remarked the satisfaction with which the men of New England, early in the century, regarded their common schools. We might also have remarked the severe shock that was given to such as could feel it, when the fact was brought home to them that their boasted schools were inferior to the best schools in the Old World.¹ We may now ask what is the distance between our schools and foreign schools to-day as compared with what it was at the beginning of the Revival. Have we shortened or lengthened the interval? The facts are that we have shortened it, but that we are still in the rear, as before. Our best schools are as good, no doubt, as the best of Germany, but we have no system of schools that is equal to the Saxon or the Prussian system. While our educational complacency is less marked than it was, it is still a considerable obstacle to our progress.

It is often charged that we Americans, in our appreciation of the material side of life, estimate too highly the practical elements of education. The best parts of mental cultivation, these critics say, dwindle in comparison with our prodigious educational statistics. It is sometimes said that our schools run altogether to brick and mortar. These criticisms touch the national character on its weak side. It would be

¹ Rev. S. J. May, speaking in 1855 of this painful revelation, says: "I well remember how stung we were by the unfavorable comparison. We had heard from our childhood and had grown up in the assurance that, as free schools originated in New England, so they were better cared for here than in any other part of the world." — *The Revival of Education*, etc., p. 13.

strange, indeed, if our educational development were not congruous with our development considered as a whole. Still, it is far from true that this development has been wholly one-sided. On the other hand, it has been measurably harmonious, all things considered. Since 1837 we have made great progress along all the lines of growth,—school grounds and buildings, apparatus and libraries, school books and courses of study, methods of teaching and modes of discipline. Much still remains to be done in all these directions. But all the progress that we have made in the past has not changed our central educational question. That is still what it was in the days of Carter and Mann, Olmstead and Kingsley. And such this question promises to remain. In fact, it is determined, in the long run, by the very nature of education. We can imagine a state of things as existing that for a time will render the material factors of education of more pressing interest than the spiritual ones. But that is an abnormal state of affairs. There is little probability that we shall see it actually existing in the United States. The provision of good teachers will be the vital educational question of the twentieth century, as it has been of the nineteenth century.

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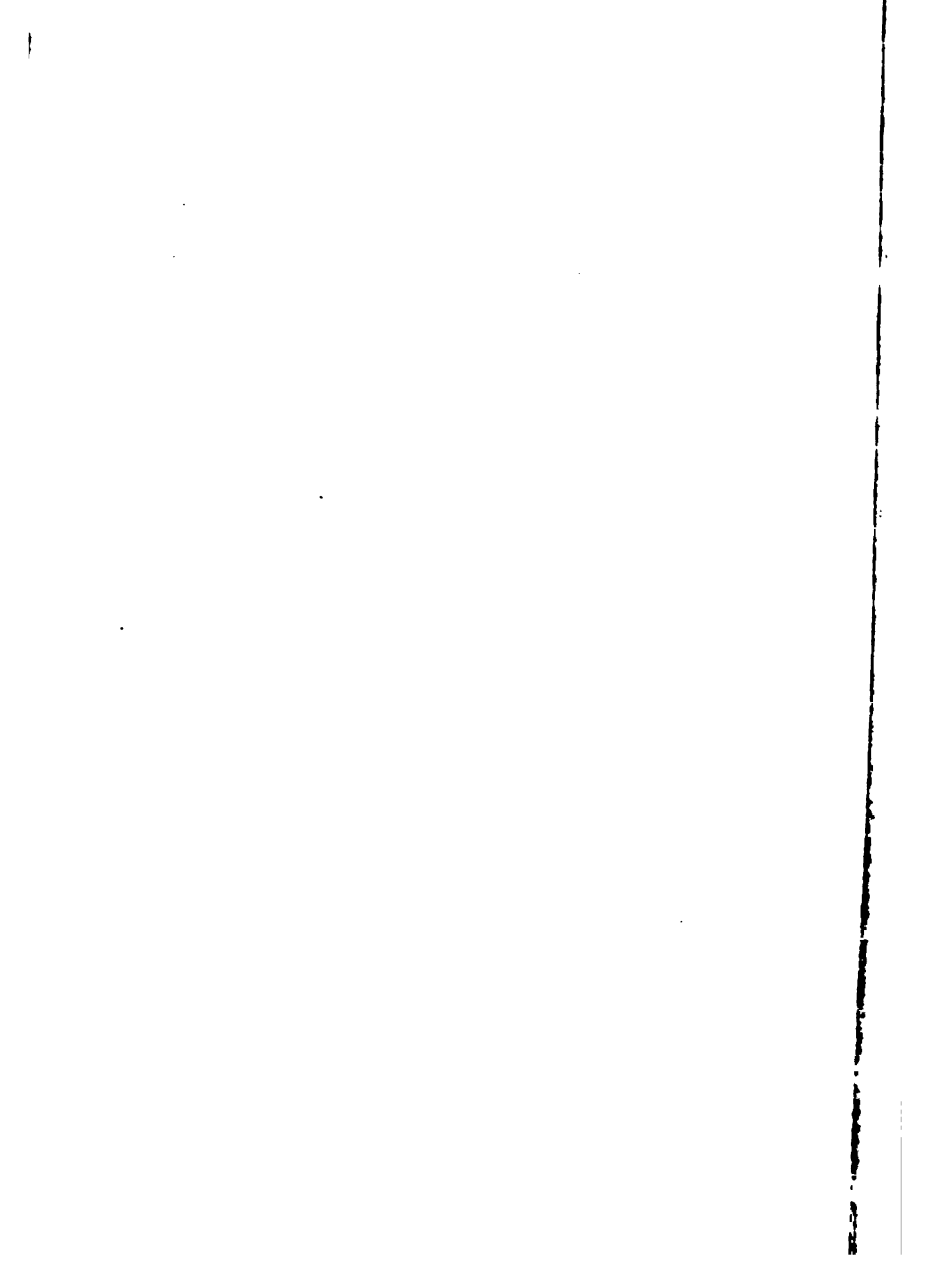
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